

THE  
SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

കേരള സാഹിത്യ അക്കാദമി  
RASIA VADMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE,  
TRICHUR, COCHIN STATE.

No 77

S. 104. (a)



THE  
SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOL. IX.

AUTUMN, 1916.

SOCIOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY.

IN a paper<sup>1</sup> read before the Sociological Society in 1913, and in some lectures<sup>2</sup> delivered at the London School of Economics in the same year, I put forward a view concerning the relation between Sociology and Psychology which it is the purpose of this paper to consider more fully.

I must begin by stating briefly what I understand by psychology and sociology. I am sorry to have to spend time on a topic on which, it might be thought, there is general agreement, but a private criticism of my earlier work by one whose opinion I value highly has convinced me that this course is necessary. My critic wrote that he did not know in what sense I used the terms in question, and then proceeded to give definitions of his own which, if I had accepted them, would have reduced my whole position to an absurdity.

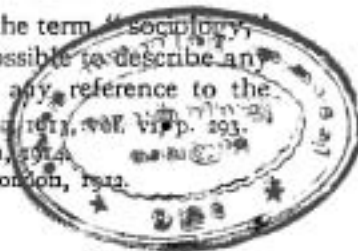
I use the term "psychology" for the science which deals with mental phenomena, conscious and unconscious. I am fully aware that from the point of view of the psychologist I am begging the whole question as it interests him by my use of the word "mental," but from the point of view of the student of society, the exact meaning of the word "mental" is of no great importance. The important matter to him is that whatever may be the exact meaning of the word "mental" adopted by psychologists, there is no danger of confusing mental processes with the social processes which I regard as the subject-matter of sociology. I may say that the definition of psychology I wish to exclude as wholly inadequate when the relation between sociology and psychology is being discussed is that of McDougall<sup>3</sup> that psychology is the science of the behaviour of living things. This definition is so wide that it would not only include the whole of sociology as ordinarily understood, but also economics, politics, and ethics. The definition is so wide as to be useless if those subjects are to be distinguished as separate disciplines.

Passing now to the meaning I attach to the term "sociology," the first point to notice is that just as it is possible to describe any of our daily actions as individuals without any reference to the

1. "Survival in Sociology," *Sociological Review*, 1911, vol. viii, p. 293.

2. "Kinship and Social Organization," London, 1914.

3. "Psychology," Home University Library, London, 1912.



motives which prompt these actions, so is it possible to describe the actions of human beings as members of society without reference to motives. In the case of individual actions, there is no need for their co-ordinated study in such a manner as to make up a science; it is only when human actions are carried out in conjunction with others, or involve the social welfare of others, that we are entitled to speak of them as social actions. These social actions as a whole form a body of organized processes which can be described and classified, and their relations in space and time studied. It is this description and classification and the study of these relations which I regard as the special subject-matter of sociology.

And, I may remark, even with this limited scope, sociology still remains no small discipline. It would be possible, for instance, to write volumes on that group of social processes which we sum up under the term "marriage," without the use of a single psychological term referring to instincts, emotions, sentiments, ideas or beliefs, without mentioning such states as love, jealousy, and constancy, which everybody knows to stand in so close a relation to the social processes in question. It would probably be objected, that by such treatment the subject had been deprived of all life.<sup>1</sup> While fully acknowledging that no treatment of marriage would be complete in which such topics as love and jealousy were ignored, such treatment is capable of producing valuable contributions to our knowledge. It would be a study in what might be called pure sociology.

It will, I trust, have become evident that the distinction I seek to make between sociology and social psychology is essentially one of method. We are only now at the threshold of the scientific study of human society. We are able to look back at a large amount of pioneer work by means of which facts have been garnered. It is now our task to establish methods and principles by means of which these facts may be used to build up one of those systematized and coherent bodies of knowledge which we call science. How little has been done towards the construction of such an edifice is shown by the widely divergent directions of the attempts which have been made to this end and by the absence of generally accepted principles comparable with those upon which other sciences are based. This absence is so conspicuous that it has been possible, not merely to deny the existence of a science of sociology, but even to deny the possibility of such existence.<sup>2</sup>

To me, as to most students of the subject, the final aim of the study of society is the explanation of social behaviour in terms of psychology. The point upon which I wish to insist is one of method. We have to discover by what methods this aim may be

1. Cf. R. R. Marett, *Folk-Lore*, xxv (1914), 21.

2. Cf. H. G. Wells, *Sociological Papers*, London, 1907, vol. III, p. 357.



attained. The solution of the problem which I propose is that the end at which we are aiming will be reached by proceeding along two paths, which, taking a parallel course at first, will gradually converge as they approach the goal. Those who follow one path will devote themselves to the study of the body of customs and institutions which make up social behaviour, while those who follow the other path will inquire into the instincts, sentiments, emotions, ideas, and beliefs of mankind, not only about strictly social events, but also about events such as birth and death which are of especial importance to society.

The two kinds of process, social and mental, are so closely connected that there must be relations between the two throughout. The two paths will have inter-connections, even while they are parallel to one another, and these inter-connections will become still more numerous as the paths converge.

A prominent cause of inter-connection is the necessity, to which nearly every science is subject, of making assumptions belonging to the domain of another science. Both sociology and social psychology are subject to this necessity, and especially will sociology be driven to make assumptions which belong to the domain of psychology. In the older sciences such assumptions are often well-established truths and can be accepted with confidence. The special feature of the relation between sociology and social psychology is that the assumptions borrowed by one science from the other can only be hypotheses, the validity of which is to be tested by finding how far they lead to the construction of consistent and coherent schemes. If these assumptions are thus justified, they become explanations. The point on which I wish to insist is that we must not mistake assumption for explanation. It is the danger of this mistake which makes so necessary the methodological separation of sociology and social psychology. It is just because it is at present so difficult to distinguish between cause and effect that each science should at present be followed so far as possible as if it were an independent discipline.

My position can be stated very briefly and in words of the utmost simplicity. I suggest that it is the business of sociology to ascertain what happens and what has happened before it tries to explain why it happens and has happened.

This proposition has two parts, referring to the present and the past. It might be thought that the first part would be accepted by all without question, and I believe it would be so accepted if the proposition were always put in the simple language in which I have stated it. And yet there is a vast amount of so-called sociology which consists of arguments that social events follow a certain course because our knowledge of the human mind shows that they must follow this course.

About the second part of my thesis there is a more serious difference of opinion, and I acknowledge at once that those who object to the necessity of ascertaining what has happened before we attempt to explain why it happened have some good grounds for their objection.

It may be said, and with especial force where societies devoid of all written records are concerned, that the chief instrument for the study of past history is a knowledge of psychology; that only through the knowledge of man's mental processes can we ever hope to reconstruct the past, so that the study of these mental processes should be our first care. I recognize the abstract validity of the plea; I have even a certain amount of sympathy with it, but it is the special object of this paper to show that this is not the path by which we may hope most speedily and most surely to reach our goal. In the lectures on "Kinship and Social Organization," to which I have already referred, I have tried to show that certain social processes have been strictly determined, both in their general character and in their details, by social conditions, and that certain psychological processes which have been believed to be the determining factors are wholly inadequate to explain how existing conditions have come into being. The processes with which I was then dealing belong to the domain of social organization in the strictest sense, and it remains possible that, even if my contention were true of these, it need not be true of social processes of other kinds.

The lectures in question were followed by a discussion, in which Professor Westermarck was good enough to take the part of a vigorous opponent of my position. On one occasion, choosing an example of a social process which seemed to him incapable of any other than a psychological explanation, he asked: "How can you explain the blood-feud except by revenge?" I propose now to answer this question, or, at any rate, to show the inadequacy of the answer which the form of the question implies. In Professor Westermarck's chapter on the blood-feud and allied social processes<sup>1</sup> it is assumed at the outset that these processes are determined by revenge. The assumption seems so self-evident to the writer that he often speaks of the blood-feud as "blood revenge," and even uses this expression in the title of the chapter. After starting with this assumption, Professor Westermarck cites a number of cases in its support. He assumes that an emotion which explains certain actions among ourselves, and seems also to explain such a process as the vendetta of the Corsicans, is also able to explain a number of cases from different parts of the world in which people take a certain line of action in response to a social injury. There is not a single example in the whole chapter of a

1. "The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas," London, 1906, vol. i, p. 477.

detailed analysis of a case in order to show that either the general character of the action or its details can be explained by revenge. The assumption made at the beginning remains just as much an assumption at the end. The case is even less favourable than this, for it is evident that some of the cases cited by Westermarck cannot be explained by revenge as we experience the emotion, but only become intelligible on the assumption of a mental attitude very different from that which we adopt in response to a social injury. Thus, cases are cited in which the relatives of a murdered person adopt the murderer as a means of "retaliation" and treat him as one of their own children.

Melanesia provides abundant examples of the difficulty in explaining the response to social injury by means of revenge. A frequent cause of warfare throughout this region is adultery or rape. A community whose women have been thus injured makes war upon the offenders, and if this were all we knew, we might seem to have a definite example of the dependence of warfare upon the emotion of revenge. An inquiry into the manner of waging war, however, puts a different complexion on the matter. The people fight till one or more men have been killed on either side; in some islands it is necessary that an equal number shall have been killed on each side. As soon as it is seen that each side has lost a man or men the fight comes to an end automatically; there is no parleying or arrangement of terms. Some time after, the two opponent peoples exchange presents which are of equal value on the two sides. There is no question of the offenders giving a larger amount in compensation for the injury which was the primary cause of the quarrel. Moreover, in the island of Eddystone in the Solomons, the party which takes the initiative in the exchange is not that of the offenders, but the order of giving depends on the drawing of the first blood in the fight. The side which kills first gives its gift first.

It is, of course, possible that we have here only a case in which the workings of revenge are obscured by later considerations arising out of rules of warfare which give it largely a ceremonial character. Even if this be so, however, it is evident that revenge must take a far less important place in the social life of such people than it is supposed to take among ourselves. Revenge is very inadequate as an explanation of this form of Melanesian warfare.

The head-hunting of some parts of Melanesia bears a closer resemblance to the blood-feud in that two communities often take heads from one another over long periods of time. The heads are taken, however, for definite religious purposes, and there is no evidence to show that revenge plays any part in the process. The choice of a district from which to obtain heads is determined rather by the desire to obtain necessary objects as easily and safely as possible. A process which might seem at first sight a good

example of blood-revenge is found, on closer examination, to be determined mainly, if not altogether, by certain religious needs in which revenge plays no appreciable part.

The method of which Professor Westermarck's treatment of the blood-feud is a fair sample is open to two grave objections. It leaves us at the end just where we were at the beginning in our knowledge of the blood-feud as a social process. I do not dwell on this objection because the book from which my example has been chosen does not profess to be a work on sociology, as I use the term, but on morals. It is the aim indicated by the title of the book which justifies the far graver objection that as the result of Westermarck's treatment we know little, if any, more about revenge at the end of the argument than we knew at the beginning. We obtain from it no answer to such questions as the following: Is revenge a universal human character? Is it an emotion which has developed or been modified in the course of the history of mankind? Is it an emotion which has the same characters and the same content among all peoples, or does it vary with the physical and social environment? An answer to one or more of these questions is suggested by some of the cases cited by Professor Westermarck, but he does not consider them from these points of view.

I have not made use of this example of the relation between the blood-feud and revenge merely as the means of criticizing the psychological method in general or its application by Professor Westermarck. I have chosen it because it seems to afford as good an example as I could desire of the true relations which should exist between sociology and psychology. Just as I believe that it is only through a detailed study of such social processes as the blood-feud that we can expect to understand the real nature of revenge and its place in the mental constitution of different peoples at different levels of development of human society, so do I believe that it is only through the study of social processes in general that we can expect to understand the mental states which underlie these processes. One of the chief interests of sociology is that it affords an avenue by which we may approach and come to understand a most important department of psychology. In place of asking, How can you explain the blood-feud without revenge? I would rather ask, How can you explain revenge without a knowledge of the blood-feud? How can you explain the workings of the human mind without a knowledge of the social setting which must have played so great a part in determining the sentiments and opinions of mankind?

The study which I have just undertaken supports the view that if he wishes to understand the social activities of man, the sociologist must begin with the study of the organized conduct which I hold to be the special province of his science. "In my

simple phraseology it is his first business to find out what happens and what has happened. The processes by which this purpose can be effected are, however, far from simple, and involve problems concerning the relation between psychology and sociology which I have now to consider. To illustrate this subject, I propose to make use of an analogy which I have used on a previous occasion,<sup>1</sup> the analogy of geology. We must remember that it is only an analogy, and, like most analogies, it may break down. I hope to show that this analogy breaks down and that the special point at which it does so is a matter of the greatest interest in relation to my main thesis. The analogy I propose to use is that the relation between sociology and psychology is like that between geology, on the one hand, and physics and chemistry on the other; that just as it is the primary business of the geologist to determine the existing relations of the different constituents of the earth's crust and the history of these constituents in the past, so is it the primary business of the sociologist to study the relations of social phenomena to one another in the present and their history in the past.

I shall now consider two aspects in which this analogy holds good in detail. One of these concerns the subject of definition. Though the primary task of the geologist is not to explain the relations within the earth's crust by physico-chemical processes, he may make use of physical and chemical terms in his definitions of objects and processes. Similarly, the view I put forward concerning the relation between psychology and sociology in no way precludes the use of psychological terms in the definitions of the institutions and processes of society. Such psychological terms may be used for two reasons. One, a matter of pure convenience, is that it is often possible to express by one psychological term or expression a number of social actions, positive or negative, which would take long to describe if all were enumerated. To give an instance: I have made use of the expression "to show respect for" in a definition of totemism.<sup>2</sup> "Respect" is a psychological term, but it is a convenient word which covers a number of acts such as abstaining from injuring, killing and eating, which would make the definition cumbrous if enumerated in full.

The other reason which justifies the sociologist in using psychological terms in his definitions is that the sociologist has taken into his vocabulary a number of terms in general use which have definite psychological implications. If these terms are to be used at all, it is undesirable, or even impracticable, to deprive them of these implications. I may take such a term as "religion" as an example. Attempts have been made to deprive this term, as used

1. *Sociological Review*, 1913, vol. vi, p. 304.

2. *Journ. Roy. Anth. Inst.*, Vol. xxxix., 1909, p. 156.



by the sociologist, of the psychological implications which it bears in ordinary life. Definitions have been formulated which omit all reference to that belief in a higher power which takes so prominent and important a place in the concept of religion as the term is ordinarily used among ourselves. Two courses are open to the sociologist: one, to use a wholly new term, one devised *ad hoc*, for the group of phenomena he wishes to class together; the other, to use the word "religion" taken from the ordinary vocabulary of our own culture. There is much to be said in favour of either course, but in the present state of the subject, leaving open what may become necessary as the science progresses, it seems best to use the current word, and with a meaning as near as possible to that which it bears in the ordinary use of the English language, and its nearest equivalents bear in the language of other civilized peoples. Such a course cannot be adopted without introducing a number of psychological implications.

The second aspect in which the analogy holds good up to a certain point is one of more importance which will take us into the heart of our subject. Though the primary task of the geologist is to explain the relations of different features of the earth's crust to one another in space and time, he has frequently to make physico-chemical assumptions, especially, and this is a point of great importance, when he is formulating mechanisms to explain how the various constituents of the earth's crust have come to occupy their present relations to one another. Similarly, the sociologist cannot do without certain psychological assumptions, and here, as in geology, it is when the sociologist tries to formulate hypothetical mechanisms by which social institutions and customs have come into existence that he is driven to use assumptions drawn from psychology.

There is one department of sociology in which such psychological assumptions become indispensable, and it may perhaps be a convenient means of illustrating this aspect of the subject if I refer to my own scheme of the sequence of social strata in Melanesia.<sup>1</sup> The chief purpose of this scheme is to show how social institutions come into existence as the result of the contact and blending of peoples, how they emerge from the conflict between the culture of an immigrant and that of an indigenous people. One has only to think about the matter for a moment to see that the only way in which the culture of an immigrant people can be carried about the world is in a psychological form, in the form of sentiments, beliefs, and ideas. Immigrant people may carry with them a few weapons and implements, but even then the essential element which they bring to their new home is the knowledge of the way in which these weapons and implements are made and used. It is evident that the less material elements of their culture can travel in no other form. In formulating a

1. "The History of Melanesian Society," Cambridge, 1914.

scheme of the results of the social interaction between an immigrant and an indigenous people, we are therefore driven to assume the existence of sentiments and ideas possessed by the immigrants as the raw material of the process. Though the need is not so imperative in the case of the indigenous culture, it is convenient there also to assume the existence of such sentiments and ideas as will serve to explain the results supposed to have emerged from the interaction.

I have already pointed out that the geologist has to make assumptions drawn from physics and chemistry. So far the analogy holds good, but when we follow it a little farther we reach a point where it breaks down, and it is the point at which the analogy fails which I believe to provide so definite a support to the main theme of this paper. It is just the point at which the analogy fails which furnishes the strongest evidence in favour of this theme.

The difference between geology and sociology is that the geologist takes from physics and chemistry assumptions upon the truth of which he can rely with certainty, while the psychological assumptions of the sociologist have largely or wholly a hypothetical character. The geologist can be certain that a million years ago, as to-day, water would not have flowed uphill and that heated gases would have expanded. He can assume with certainty that matter would have behaved in the way it does to-day at any epoch to which his imagination takes him. Can this be said of any of the psychological assumptions which the sociologist is driven to make? Is there any point at which he can affirm with certainty that man would have behaved, even a thousand years ago, exactly as he behaves to-day? Have we any psychological laws which can for one moment be put beside the laws concerning the behaviour of matter which have been reached by the sciences of physics and chemistry? I have never heard of them, and I am afraid I should not believe them if I heard. It is just because no such laws are known, and just because I hope and believe that such laws can be discovered by the study of the organized conduct of man in society that I urge the priority of the study of social processes.

It is evident that the logical processes involved in this study of social behaviour as a step towards the discovery of psychological laws is far from simple. In so far as it is the aim of the sociologist to contribute to psychology, his task will be the testing of his psychological assumptions. In so far as these assumptions enable him to formulate consistent and coherent schemes into which all known social facts can be fitted, schemes capable of explaining new facts as they are discovered, in so far will the evidence in favour of the correctness of his assumptions accumulate. If, on the other hand, his assumptions lead to the formulation of unworkable schemes, schemes which will not fit with known facts, or,



while explaining known facts, fail to explain the facts discovered by new investigation, the assumptions will have to be set aside, and attempts made to reach the truth by other paths.

I have so far considered the study of what I may call "pure" sociology as a channel whereby we may hope to attain knowledge of social psychology. This channel must necessarily be long and tortuous, and I must now consider why such a course should be necessary, why we cannot follow the more obvious way of inquiring directly into the motives which actuate the conduct of men as members of society.

Among the people whose social conduct has been the special object of my own investigations, there is no more difficult task than that of discovering the motives which lead them to perform social actions. There is no more depressing and apparently hopeless task than that of trying to discover why people perform rites and ceremonies and conform to the social customs of their community. This is partly due to the abstract nature of such inquiries. In dealing with the concrete facts of social organization or with the details of ceremonial, the observation and memory of the man of rude culture are marvels of wealth and accuracy. Directly one approaches the underlying meaning of rite or custom, on the other hand, one meets only with uncertainty and vagueness unless, as is most frequently the case, the people are wholly satisfied with the position that they are acting as their fathers have done before them. In this case it would seem as if the people have never attempted to justify their social actions by the search for motives and meanings. When explanations are offered, they come from persons who have been in contact with external influences, and the motives assigned by such persons for social actions bear only too clearly the signs of this influence. They are merely the results of a rationalizing process used to explain actions whose sources lie beyond the scope of reason.

It may be argued that we fail to discover the source of social action among such peoples as the Melanesian or the Indian because we are dealing with modes of thought and culture widely different from our own and with people speaking languages which place insuperable obstacles in the communication of any motive they are able to formulate. Let us turn our eyes homewards, therefore, and see how the matter stands among ourselves. Such small experience as I have had myself in such inquiries has led me to regard the difficulty as even greater at home than among peoples of rude culture. If the task were laid upon me of learning to know the minds of people in regard to their social actions by means of direct inquiry, my own experience would lead me to regard the prospects of success as greater among such people as the Melanesians than among the inhabitants of an English or Scottish village.

Limited as is my own experience, it is fully in accord with all

we can learn from those who have devoted themselves to such inquiries. The last few years have seen an extensive movement by means of which it has been attempted to gain knowledge, not merely of the social condition of different classes, but of the mental attitude which acts as the immediate antecedent of their actions. Those who have attempted such a task agree in their experience of its difficulty, or even impossibility.<sup>1</sup> They use language which might well be used of my own experience in connection with the similar task among savage peoples. There are those even who find the mental gulf dividing class from class of one nation even more difficult to bridge than that between the peoples of different nations taken as a whole.

This practical difficulty in the study of the mental attitude of a class different from our own only adds to a still more formidable difficulty which is not limited to the investigation of one class by another, but extends to the knowledge it is possible to attain of the motives which underlie the social conduct of our own class, our own associates, nay more, even of ourselves.

It has in recent years been gradually recognized that social conduct is not directed by intellectual motives, but, predominantly, often it would seem exclusively, by sentiments or even instincts for which no intellectual ground can be assigned, which often seem even to run directly counter to the intellectual opinions of those whose conduct is concerned.<sup>2</sup> How often does one hear a man express liberal ideas, who recognizes himself that his intellectual sympathies are liberal, and yet when the time comes to vote, that is, perform a definite social act by which he can give expression to his ideas, he supports the other side. "Somehow or other," he says, "when the time comes to vote, I find myself voting conservative."

If this position be granted, and it seems to be one which rests on very firm ground, the main thesis of this paper necessarily follows. No mental states are more difficult to introspect than emotions and sentiments, to say nothing of instincts, and yet if the view in question be right, any direct knowledge of the mental attitude underlying a social act must come, not merely from introspection, but from this process in so definite a form that the results can be communicated to the inquirer into such matters by word of mouth or in writing. The immense difficulty or even impossibility of the task might have been foreseen if it had not already been learnt by bitter experience.

In conclusion, I should like to call attention to a recent movement in psychology, a movement which, in spite of all its faults, I am inclined to regard as one of the most important which has

1. See especially "Seems So!" by Stephen Reynolds and Bob and Tom Woolley.

2. See especially "Human Nature in Politics," by Graham Wallas.

ever taken place in the history of the science. If it has any validity it will have the thesis of this paper as a necessary consequence. This movement, which is connected especially with the name of Freud, not merely gives to the subconscious or unconscious a far more important place in the ordering of human conduct than has generally been assigned to it, but it puts forward a definite mechanism of the processes by which the subconscious or unconscious takes effect, and by which its workings are disguised.

I can only deal with this subject very briefly, and must content myself with a reference to one process, that by which the activity of the unconscious mind is disguised, not only from others, but also from ourselves. I refer to the process of rationalization which provides rational, intellectualistic explanations of conduct that really depends on deeply hidden motives and unconscious trends to certain lines of action. Whatever may be the importance of subconscious or unconscious activity in the working of the individual mind, I do not think there can be a shadow of doubt about its importance in what we may call the social mind. If Freud's views hold good of the social mind, they provide an ample explanation for the failure of those who have sought to learn the springs of social conduct by means of direct inquiry. That which we are told when we ask for an explanation of social conduct is but a rationalistic interpretation of behaviour springing from sources to which access can only be obtained by some indirect means.

The indirect means by which the subconscious activity of the individual mind can be studied are many and various. They include the study of dreams and the observations of the many departures from rational conduct (*lapses lingua*, etc.) which occur so frequently in daily life. Indications gained from these sources or from experiment may be used to help in bringing to the surface of consciousness the hidden springs of action. Some of these methods have possible analogues in the study of the social mind. Thus, the myth of the social group has been likened to the dream of the individual. Mythology, however, is only an expression for one group of those social processes which, according to my thesis, open for us the prospect of a knowledge of the social mind. It is only by the study of such social processes and institutions as mythology, language and religion that we can hope to understand the mental states in which these and all other forms of social activity have their ultimate source.

It is of great interest that the Freudian theory should lead to conclusions agreeing so closely with those which workers such as Graham Wallas have reached quite independently and by the study of a department of human activity which, so far as I am aware, Freud has never touched. It is a remarkable fact that through the study of hysterical nervous disorders a physician should have been led to views concerning the nature of mental activity which agree

so closely with those reached by the study of that branch of human conduct, also too often subject to hysterical disorders, which we call politics. Two widely separated lines of work have led to one goal and combine to show the importance of the unconscious and the misleading character of the intellectual motives by which the actions of mankind are usually explained. These two different lines of work in psychology support and justify the thesis of this paper that it is only by the study of sociology, in the sense in which I use the term, that we can hope to attain to a sound knowledge of social psychology.

W. H. R. RIVERS.



## BERLIN AND ITS REGION.

IN considering the life of any part of Europe it is well to begin by noting its relation to the Mediterranean lands. Those lands with their climate of winter rain and summer sun are the home of the olive, orange, and vine, and fruit-culture is an occupation in which a little surplus is assured by moderate and healthy effort. Physical conditions have permitted a moderate increment, and, with that, leisure to devote to the more spiritual aspects of life. The spiritual impulses of the lands of Increment are no mere products of such increment, they are rather the outcome of a life of moderate activity and security. Great increment, *per se*, is as dangerous here as everywhere else.

The other great region of ancient Increment is the Monsoon lands, an immemorial home of high civilization and deep thought. The products of Monsoon lands and Mediterranean are permanently different, and one chief determinant of long-distance trade is the growth of exchange between them. That trade had to cross the steppes and deserts of western Asia where, save in oases like Mesopotamia, Damascus, and Egypt, there was little chance of much increment. Here are the lands of Wandering where people so characteristically laid up treasure in heaven, having small occasion to do so on earth.

Of the spiritual impulses which the Steppes have given to the lands of Increment all know something, but it is hardly sufficiently realized that they have been unable to contribute in the same way to the zones of Europe north of the Mediterranean. First comes the Alpine or Fold-mountain zone, a region of permanent difficulty to man, unless the new utilization of water-power in the form of electric current may alter this. Next is the zone of Broken Highlands in which valleys and old half-obliterated hills were twisted by the uprise of the Alps into such tangles that it has been possible to fight about boundaries from early times till now. Northward, again, lies the European plain with its barrierless extension towards the lands of wandering, so that spiritual influences might have spread along this broad track had it not been for the dark cover of forest, broken only by gleams of swamp. Forest has been for all time a great barrier to the richer activities, while further

south the seas with islands and the deserts with oases have been the best of links. We thus find that the Broken Highlands and the Northern Plain look to the Steppes with only the dread of periodic invasion, and it is characteristically on the Plain that Peter the Great and the Hohenzollerns both built human (military) barriers when the forest ones were falling, largely through their efforts. The vital differences between the two are put in telling phrases by Acton, and one may take the liberty of incorporating a few. The creation of Peter the Great may express the State at its uttermost limit of ugly material supremacy, but it has to reckon unceasingly with "the Asiatic twilight of the past," in which loom, it may be, shapes of violence and terror, but which, nevertheless, has garnered treasure in heaven for the good of mankind, and some of this has filtered in to the Russian peasantry. The Prussian creation has the forest between it and the spirituality of the East, and "to this day the sky-line of Berlin is more unbroken by church-towers than that of almost any other city." It was naked materialism that expressed itself here with the strength of "not a giant but an athlete."

But we are anticipating. The European plain was too poor to be a Region of Increment until after tremendous work had been done; it is a Land of Prolonged Effort, and thus only emerges late into the main stream of human story. In order to follow out this emergence, let us begin again with the Mediterranean.

The Mediterranean spread its activities in characteristic ways over its surroundings, increasing man's knowledge of the world, as the live geography of so many Greek tales shows, and exploiting far lands for the raw material it needed to continue to express its civilization in its later and more materialised phases. It is often through an exploitation-stage that "new" countries are brought into contact with the main human stream, and lucky are those, like New England and Provence, that miss its worst effects. This phase grades into one where the exploiters either make the district a large-scale producer of some raw material, as examples from Plantagenet England and from South America and other modern debtor-countries might show, or the one-time exploiters settle and develop a local life in it for its own sake, as in Provence.

#### *Provence and Burgundy.*

Provence is a magnificent sunny window, through which the light of the Mediterranean, its art, its ideals of the city of God, have streamed up the long corridor of Burgundy into the Lands of Effort ever since the forest-barrier between Viviers and Lyons was broken down, in the early Iron Age or probably even before this. It had the good fortune to receive the direct and more spiritual Greek influences as well as the later more materialised phase of the



same influences from Rome, as Arles and Nîmes will bear witness through ages still to come.

The Romans spread up through Burgundy to the Rhine and westward over the Paris Basin as well, and also of course over the mountain passes from Italy to the Danube. Rhine and Danube form almost their effective frontier. Beyond that were the tangled valleys of South Germany, filled with forest, or hill-ringed Bohemia, difficult to dominate. Moreover, as Fairgrieve has hinted, the Romans, with their hatred of cold, would not be drawn to the region beyond this frontier, which is approximately the region with a frozen January. As a road for the spread of Mediterranean influences the mountain passes have lagged behind Burgundy in historic times, for several reasons which need not be followed out here.

It is good to remember that, after the Dark Ages following the decay of Rome, "the land arose from her ashes and put upon her a white robe of churches," and the Benedictines are seen leading the re-building of the *Deserta Sæculorum* with that very typical prelude of their hymn of Jerusalem the Golden; they are apostles of the Mediterranean ideal of the City of God.

#### *The Paris Basin.*

From Burgundy westwards to the Paris Basin was an easy step. Burgundy's winter is cold enough to develop a sympathy with the North, and the Paris Basin had sun enough to permit a beginning of increment before the spiritual impulse had spent itself. The basin is also open to the sea, and to the northern plain by the tragic gate of Ypres, and it has thus come to be a very melting-pot of thoughts and ideals for Western Europe, and one of the great nurseries of the human spirit. The names of Cluny, Cîteaux and Clairvaux are eloquent of the march of its awakening to a vivid life, ever seeking unity, synthesis, on a mighty scale capable of including the ideals and the aspirations of all the European stocks—Mediterranean, Alpine and Nord—which jostle one another on its plains. They with their varying mental equipments and divergent traditions, created and maintain the subtly penetrating French criticism with its withering laughter. "Le Rire," Bergson's suggestive essay, gains in meaning for non-Frenchmen if it is realised that *Du mécanique plaqué sur du vivant* may mean a pressing into one vital sequence of what belongs to quite another, to another tradition perhaps, and what sinks into mere *mécanique* through its dislocation.

The central position of Paris, the striving for synthesis, the natural ambitions of rulers, the tragic need for defence, have all combined with the great *Elan vital*, due to intimate mixing under such favourable circumstances, to make the dominance of Paris



unique. From the European point of view this dominance is too great, for it has helped to prevent Paris from ever working out a devolution scheme, as one may see by following out the efforts of Richelieu and the working of the Edit de Nantes. Thus it has come to pass that it is Paris itself that has spread to the limits of that French civilization which has proved as attractive towards the Rhine as it has in our own country. If Paris had been able to encourage local initiative, there might ere now have been co-ordinated regional arrangements step by step up to and beyond the Rhine, grading between the fiercely contrasted Paris and Berlin. It is possible that a solution will one day have to be sought on some such lines to the problem which any accumulation of money or liberation of energy in Western Europe seems to bring in its train under the present régime.

In the Middle Ages the Paris-Burgundian ideas could spread to the Rhine without great hindrance. Beyond it there was not much of a basis of Roman tradition on which to build. The Rhine, broadly interpreted so as to allow Frankfort its valuable Roman and romance elements, is a barrier. Strassburg is, as it were, an outrider on the north-eastern flank of the army of Gothic cathedrals which so well express the synthesis wrought in the Paris basin. Even Köln is greater as a tribute to France than in its own right; and beyond the Rhine there is hardly an acknowledged masterpiece of Gothic, though there are wonderful beauties of detail, as, for example, at Bamberg.

#### *The Northern Plain and the Baltic Sea.*

In Roman times the process of Accumulation or Increment had as yet not begun in the tangled valleys and on the northern plain. Then, the Baltic lands were peopled mostly by fair moderately long-headed Teutons, while the Carpathian slopes and the Alpine slopes already had their population of dark round-heads, perhaps speaking a form of Slavonic in the East and a form of Celtic in the West. Between the mountains and the Baltic the population was mixed. Teutons were characteristic of some of the valley-ways from North-west Germany down to Suabia, and, in the North-west, such round-heads as there were soon melted into Deutschum, while in the South they more or less maintained themselves on the higher lands. In the North-east the Slav seems to have descended into the plains and to have done some forest-clearing; Schlüter has dated a good deal of forest-clearing between the sixth and ninth centuries. The Teutonic warrior-aristocracy, however, gave its language and some of its tradition to the mixed population, in every part in which it formed even a fair minority. This is a very marked psychical trait of the type in spite of its small capacity for peaceable assimila-

tion, small partly because of its innate horror of intermarriage with presumably inferior stocks. It seems to develop a largely non-cultural aristocracy into which successful separata from the "lower orders" are slowly taken up. An outcome of this is interestingly visible in the anxiety of some nineteenth century plutocracies to affiliate themselves with the ancient Teutons of the forest.

To the west of the track of the Elbe across the plain, as Lyde well puts it, in the maze of moor and marsh, the Teutonic population maintained itself, and, moreover, the mountain slopes were far enough away. East of that river track the Slav spread everywhere, and the Mark or boundary was east of the Elbe for several reasons, amongst others the fact that the east here had a more backward life.

With the advent of the Middle Ages there grew in the tangled valleys a number of small states, which absorbed something of the Roman-Christian idea from the Rhine towns. Labour and the finding of metal in the wooded hills, where smelting was thus facilitated, began to enrich the region; the valleys could now trade. Out of a salted fish and salt trade round the Baltic grew the varied Baltic trade of the Hanse, with furs as a rich item. An early Hanse metropolis was Wisby in Gotland, an island site as so often developing early, largely because of its comparative security. The goal of the trade, however, was the valley-courts, and mainland ports gained the lead: Riga, Danzig, Stettin, Lübeck, Bruges, as the English wool-trade developed, Hamburg and Bremen in due course. Petersson thinks that the planetary circulation was more vigorous in the Middle Ages than now, and he links with this a greater salinity of the Baltic water and the temporary importance of the herring fishery. This and the fur trade gave the Baltic a priority which dwindled and died when ocean trade began, and when, Petersson thinks, the Baltic freshened.

The Teutonic knights guarded the northern plain as an eastern outpost of Christendom, and spread eastward, conquering the souls, and withal the bodies, of the heathen Slav Prussians and Lithuanians. But neither they nor the power beginning to grow in the Mark of Brandenburg could as yet make the plain more than a zone of transit from the Baltic coast to the foothills.

#### *The German Fall-Line.*

The northern edge of the hills runs almost east and west, and is sometimes called the Fall-line. It is broken where rivers emerge from their valleys on to the plain's broad expanse, and here grew the trading cities distributing the Hanse goods up the valleys:—Köln, Hanover, Magdeburg, Leipzig, Dresden, and Breslau, with Liège also, but Liège is beyond *Deutschum*. Of these, Dresden had to guard the defile leading to and from Bohemia, and it became a royal centre, with art galleries and so on in later times. Leipzig,

had special advantages as a market centre with upward links in several directions. It was centrally placed also with reference to the Baltic ports and it developed the great fur market. Leipzig Fair became to such an extent the sign and symbol of Germanic commerce that great efforts were made to hold it even under the conditions of 1915. The momentum of a market is proverbial, and Leipzig Fair has long outlasted the Hanse, just as the wool market has remained in London for centuries after the disappearance of the conditions which led to its establishment there. The fact is that a market gathers around it credit facilities, legal experts, scribes and, later on, printers and publishers, churches and churchmen, repairers and workmen of many kinds, with all the complex organisation of transport. Such a great market as Leipzig thus naturally grew into a great university and publishing centre, and it is not an unrelated fact that it became the judicial capital of the modern German Empire. It is worth noting in passing that Leipzig, Dresden and Jena are Slavonic in origin and name.

#### *South and North.*

With the great Schism arise new differentia between, broadly, the valleys and the northern plain. The South had generally accepted the Roman law as a way out of a muddle due to an immense mixture of custom, but the northern plain had done so only in small part. To this difference was added difference of religion, and it may be hinted that the change in the North was to some extent the effacement of a recently added veneer of Catholic Christianity, which had not yet been assimilated. The northern Protestantism lacked the traditional foundation of that which grew up in France and spread thence to all parts, even later on to the German plain which owes it so much.

The wars of religion, perhaps the freshening of the Baltic, and the growth of ocean trade all combined to weaken the old life, while Elizabeth of England contributed not a little to the decay of the Hanse. The North appeared decadent in the 17th century and the 'Thirty Years' war made the decay seem complete. Tradition's extremity, however, was Brandenburg's opportunity, and here begins the remarkable reorganisation of the northern plain under the grip of the central power of Brandenburg-Prussia, by tradition a frontier military power. This power had before its eyes the example of Paris, where Richelieu had systematised an age-long growth of tradition into a scheme of centralised government, making Paris practically the capital of Europe in a sense to be understood even by those to whom its ancient spiritual leadership meant very little. The example was enticing to rulers whose only hope of security lay in extension and consolidation, in the making of the northern plain into a human region, a unit. There was the

added lure of the old cities along the two edges of the plain. To redeem them from their decadence would give chances of absorption attractive to an aggressive power, and these chances would be all the greater because the cities' weakness in separation was patent to all eyes.

*A Personal Factor of Indirect Geographical Importance.*

Besides the foregoing factors there was a personal one which is too little stressed. Owing to the religious schism, the relations of Protestant Brandenburg came to be with Holland, and the Elector George William married a princess of Orange. Those who have followed Galton's studies of genius are inclined to think that this may have had something to do with the great and lasting accession of ability in the Hohenzollerns which was so strikingly inaugurated by the Great Elector, the offspring of that marriage. Galton draws attention to the remarkable recurrence of outstanding ability in the Orange family. The Great Elector also married an Orange princess, while naturally during his reign Brandenburg became a Protestant refuge and a field for Dutch energy. Toleration was a great factor in the advance of Prussia; Louis XIV's famous mistake was avoided. This is in no sense to be taken as an expression of disbelief in the ability of the Hohenzollerns before the Great Elector. Many of them had shown great energy and foresight in building up the fortunes of the family by repeated successes especially in negotiation. Professor Lyde has also suggested that *ab origine* they were enthroned over a connecting link between river systems and had thus a long preparation for the specific work which they were to do at Berlin. The general verdict will probably nevertheless be that for some reasons, among which the personal one just mentioned may not be the least, they found and utilised opportunities on a greatly enlarged scale from the accession of the Great Elector onwards.

Mr. B. Branford has pointed out that the links between the House of Orange and Prussia were such that William III. of Britain thought he had found in the person of John Locke a suitable Ambassador of Britain to the Court of Berlin. He would not have been a likely choice in our day, but then the links of the three great Protestant states of England, Holland and Prussia implied an intellectual contribution from the older civilization of Holland to the newer one of Prussia, and in that relation William may have thought of placing Britain by the side of Holland. It would be illuminating to study the continuation of that contribution of Holland to the life of Berlin, very marked in the growth of modern German scientific work as the great names of van t'Hoff and de Vries testify.

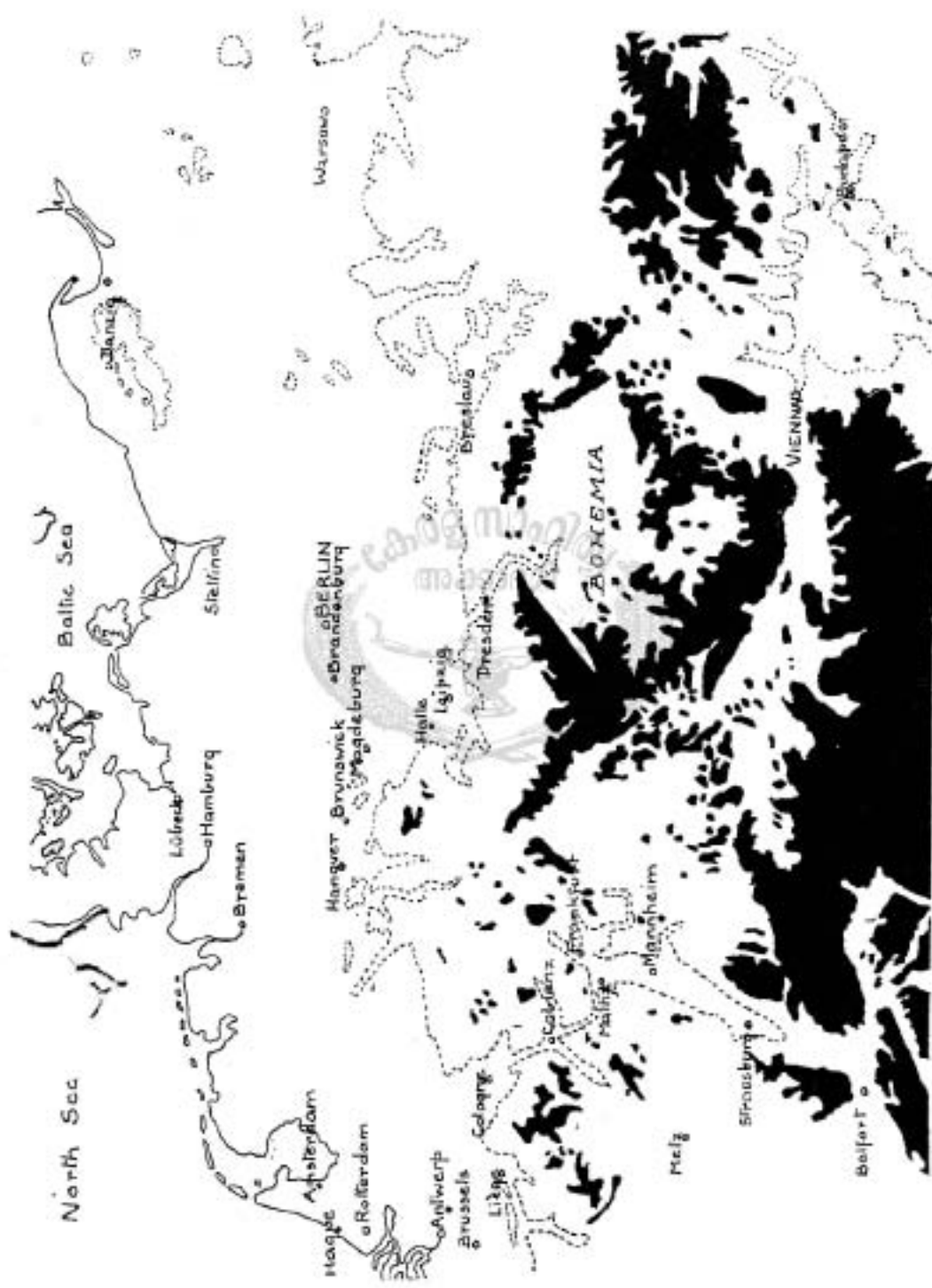


FIG. 1. Simplified Orographical Map of the German "Fall-Line."  
The two foot contour line is dotted. Land more than 1,500 feet above sea level is marked black.

*Topographical Factors.*

A topographical factor is of much moment. In the Middle Ages, while Brandenburg was the capital of the Mark, Berlin was of moderate importance at the junction of the Havel and Spree farther east, for from each river it was possible to approach the Oder, and from the united one Brandenburg and the Elbe. In the new period, with Dutch help, it is natural that canals were built and the name of Friedrich-Wilhelm canal from Oder to Spree commemorates an achievement of the Great Elector. These canal tracks were marked out by surface features.

On the northern plain are long east and west lines of low hills formed by the terminal moraines of glaciers in the great Ice Age. Rivers from the mountains to the northern seas have found some weak spots in the moraines, but they have had to adapt themselves very much to the troughs in between. Thus there are many east and west sections of the rivers of the plain and these are set in series. (See map 1.) Several converge just east of the northward track of the Elbe across the plain and the remnants of low hills and sand between them are the Mark of Brandenburg. In the new period these troughs became organised into lines of communication and the junction-value of Berlin was much enhanced. The making of canals and roads helped the tireless and conscienceless devotion which was making the new power dominate the plain, and was encouraging the modern theory of the ruler as the first servant of the state.

The Great Elector hoped to renew the old sea trade and he even had a venture in West Africa. The need for land defence, however, which so markedly diverted attention from sea-relations in France, was still more potent in the case of Prussia. Supremacy in both directions has so far been unattained. But the Great Elector's work on the plain was a great material success and was developed by his grandson, Frederick-William, who was in a sense the most characteristic expression of Prussia.

*Development of Centralised Control.*

At every stage there was difficulty due to the fact that it was a land of ancient poverty that was being developed. There was no Ancient Increment to meet the cost of wars and public works, and a State Reserve Fund became a bedrock fact in Prussia. This helped the grip of the central power, which also found scope for growth of its clear authority at the expense of the anarchic wreckage of local customs in the towns of the plain. The shining example of Paris was an added lure for Frederick the Great, and centralisation became on all grounds a feature of Prussia. Of the work of Frederick it is at this date difficult to say anything that has not been better said before.



The main fact thus far concerning Prussia is that it was by the binding together by material, economic, and military bonds of the debris of a lost past into a new unit, thanks to growth of communications, that the northern plain became for the first time a human unit. It tended more and more to grip the Fall-line from Köln past Leipzig to Breslau, and the reward of its diligence was startling in its magnitude, for coal was found along the zone of the revived fall-line towns.

The contrast with England in this respect is great, for coal was found in remote corners of England where civic tradition was weak, and the land, common formerly, had passed into private hands. The slums of Corporation Street, Birmingham, the ill-restrained chimneys, the haphazard railway arrangements of English towns, all speak too eloquently of the *laissez-faire* policy which gave complacent expression to the wishes of the successful exploiters of a lost peasantry, turned adrift in the name of more profitable agriculture from their immemorial traditions. There is, however, a curious item to be set against some of this ruin. *Laissez-faire* permitted enormous fortunes to be made easily out of town growth, and these moneys have been used for national borrowings and also for free speculation; they have therefore contributed much to the power of British Industrialism, for good as well as for evil.

Germany profited by England's mistakes, and moreover her new industry grew where there was a strong civic tradition. The cities grew with dignity and order from a traditional centre, often on civic land. The profits were largely public, and until recently German private enterprise was thus remarkably dependent on foreign and in a surprising way on French capital. During 1911—1914 there appears to have been a mobilization of capital going on and its effect on the world's stock markets was one of the most interesting features of those years.

We have now followed something of the growth of a human unit on the northern plain, with Berlin an administrative but not a spiritual or an artistic second Paris. Indeed it is uglier now than ever because of the accumulation of blatancies of the recent *Siegestrunken* period. The unit is *ab origine* centralised, military, and aggressive, dependent upon material rather than upon ideal factors. In fact this spoils even the good civic work, for Berlin pushes it on, not from a desire to enhance the meaning and value of personality and to give freer play to the high impulses, but to have strong soldiers. It is done for reasons of state, not for reasons of human fellowship.

#### *Another Statement of the Berlin Problem.*

One may venture to hint at a more philosophical treatment of the problem of Berlin. It is fair to say that a main process of



human evolution is the evolution of the contents of the mind, and not so much of the concatenations of thought due to the aggressive activity of the wide-ranging intellect, as of those deeper processes that may be called habits often only partially conscious. A group of men is cemented together by a common possession in this region of the fountains of action and is made effective when the common possession culminates in the habit of acting for the group, *i.e.*, culminates in a group-regarding habit which can keep in check the ever-pressing and ever-disrupting self-regarding habits.

Paris is a centre of a great region, an immense group, with an unequalled common possession of inherited idealism clustering about the stones of its churches and the very stalks of its cornfields. Whatever its faults, its divisions, the greatest common measure in the Paris region is a large amount and a large amount of what is best for man. The domination of Paris thus has compensating influences, though the outlying *pagus* is much restricted as regards opportunities of self-expression. Still, when Paris, under passing waves of enthusiasm, often of less worthy kinds, spreads its rule to what are in the true spiritual sense other regions, there is danger of securing a unity without the proper basis of common spiritual inheritance.

Berlin and the German plain with the Hanse Towns on the one hand and the Fall-Line Towns on the other, have had little in the way of common possessions of thought and tradition, and the difficulty of achieving organic unity has been a great and lasting one. To his great credit be it said that Wagner strove to contribute in a spiritual sense to the enrichment of the slender common inheritance. Unfortunately, however, in going back to the Edda, he was at the same time going back behind Christianity and helping unwillingly a reaction against the Christian ideal, which, as we have seen, never enjoyed much of the great and long opportunity given by the Middle Ages elsewhere to soak itself into the peoples' minds.

The authorities at Berlin were committed by their military and concentrating tradition to develop the group-regarding habit on what may be called negative lines. They could not work easily by increasing a very slender and spiritual inheritance; they took the lower line of encouraging a common feeling of repulsion between their citizens and the world outside their customs barriers. They inculcated in every way the feeling of apartness, they literally went back to the savage notion of insuperable barriers of feeling and of thought. Alsace-Lorraine must remain an open sore lest the barrier melt away and the subtle French civilization come in once more to destroy the consciousness of apartness. France must be kept goaded into military preparations that the common feeling of danger from France and from Russia may become a cement for the German group.

*The Impossibility of a Fall-Line Capital in Germany.*

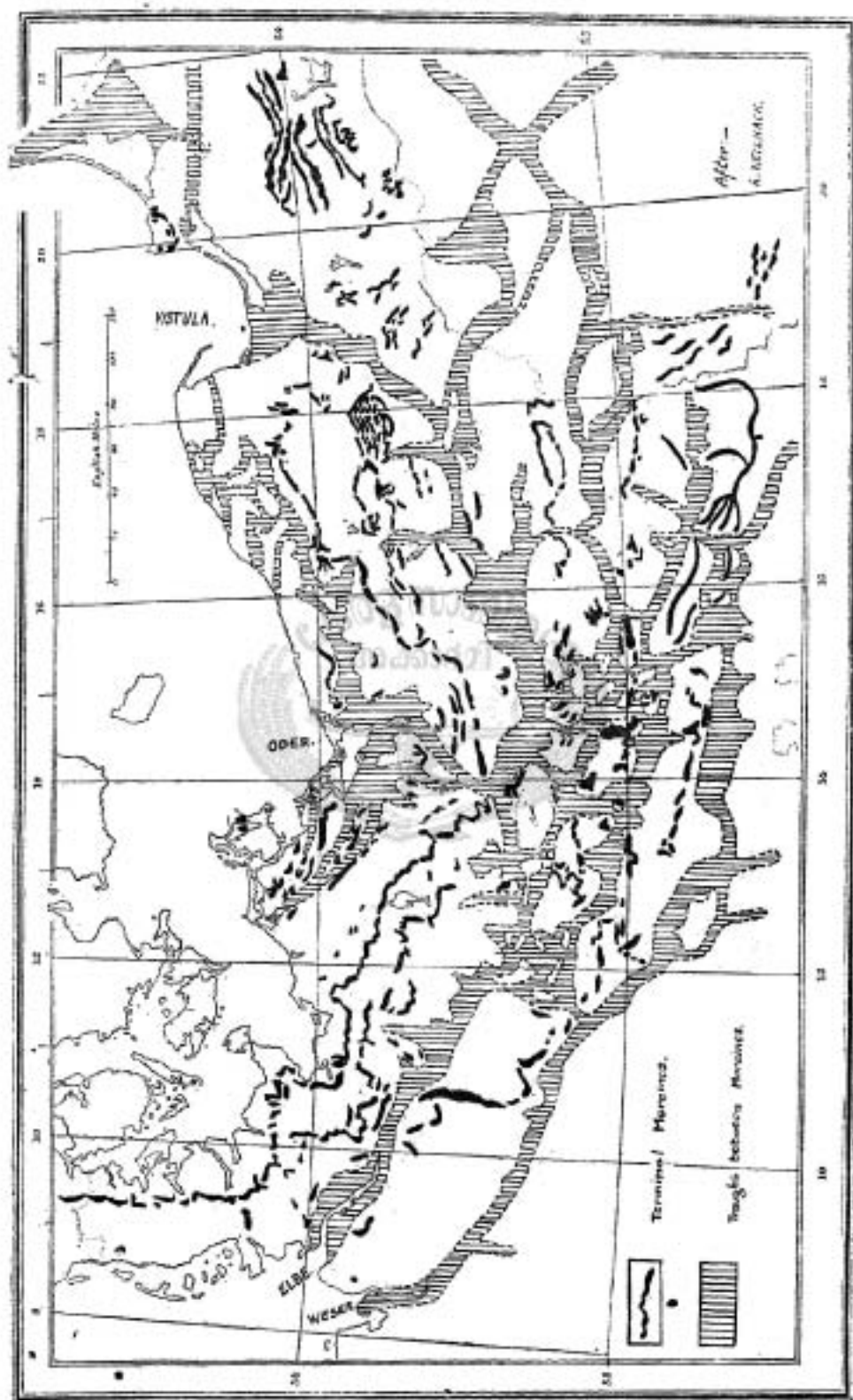
The human unit on the northern plain has been drawn into increasing relation with the Fall-line, as we have seen. If the region of tangled valleys had extended eastwards along the whole extent of the northern plain away to the Vistula, it is quite probable that a capital of the whole country, hills and plains, would have developed from a centrally placed city of the Fall-line like Leipzig. That might have avoided much sorrow, and it would almost certainly have enhanced enormously the value of north Germany's contribution to the world's life and thought.

As it happened, there was behind Leipzig the mountain-guarded Bohemia, marked out by nature for a fairly early development of conscious apartness from its surroundings. Bohemia's zenith of power comes with Ottocar early in the Middle Ages, and it is Vienna that takes her place, when the menace of the East becomes graver, for Vienna stands at the southern main gate of the grass lands as chief guard against Turk and Tartar. Vienna also naturally drew the south of the tangled valleys towards her. Bohemia, between Vienna and Berlin, has been a potent factor of discord.

Without a fall-line capital and with the unassimilated block of Bohemia projecting into the heart of the country, Germanic unity was a difficult achievement geographically and a unification on the plain, inevitably late, has meant a *parvenu* capital, with little of the invaluable mediæval inheritance. It is true that one of the fall-line cities, Magdeburg, is situated so far north, in correlation with the projection of the Harz, that it might almost have become a capital of the plain. Lyde is probably right in thinking that, in this case, ecclesiastical connections were a drawback, and there are other reasons why it did not gain first place; though it was a Hanse town, chosen along with Lübeck and Frankfort-on-the-Main as a seat of the special appeal courts which endeavoured to bring order into the muddles of local law in mediæval Germany.

*Berlin and its Influence.*

The Elbe-to-Oder region was roughly the frontier over against Slavdom, and Brandenburg, on a hill between the lakes, was a central fortress of the Mark, guarding one of the eastward ways between the moraines already discussed. Eastward connections were of dominant importance to a Mark, and Magdeburg was worse off in this respect. As they increased still further in importance, sites near the junction of the Havel-Oder (Finow Canal) route and the Spree-Oder (Friedrich-Wilhelm Canal) route emerged into importance:—Berlin, Charlottenburg, Spandau and Potsdam, and they contrast with the more restricted site at Brandenburg. Hence Berlin is mainly a route centre of the plain.



Looked at commercially, it is also the focus behind Hamburg, but the latter city, unfortunately, was not so placed as to be the leader of the plain's life; it is at the far end, unlike London, which is at once a port and the focus of the English plain. The German effort to take up the British challenge to sea-power and empire, and to find markets and German homes for its surpluses of goods and men, has been very artificial as a result of this; it is largely a product of the centralized state at Berlin, not a natural growth from fisheries and coastal trade like the Hanse.

When the pilot was dropped in 1890, England's challenge, at that time rather needlessly trumpeted forth, was taken up. In 1914 it seemed as if the work of the modern period had gone to pieces. The *Der Tag* policy was worked out by men, in Bebel's words, drunk with victory. It lacked the sobering thoughts that had sunk deep into the mind of Bismarck from the difficult days before 1864, as well as from those of the *Kulturkampf*. With the collapse we have once more the strife over the old problem of the control of the fall-line, which the unification of the northern plain by Berlin re-invigorated. In these days of the "Great Power Theory" and of easy communications which foster it, not only the fall-line but also the ways up behind it must be controlled if Berlin is to feel at all safe. We thus have the materialist but disciplined power of Berlin spreading, undiluted by local essences, up to and beyond the Rhine. There it meets subtle, but if possible still more centralized influences of Paris with its irresistible attraction of centuries of tradition rich in all that feeds the human spirit. Thus is the conflict given.

The day of small truly-sovereign states seems to be as dead as that of the mediæval cosmogony. Aggregation is an accelerative process; and centralization now threatens to efface natural regional characteristics by peaceful educational, when not by oppressive administrative measures. It tempts the regions to export a large part of their best blood to the centre, which then reckons the wealth they produce as its own. London, Paris, Berlin, and Petrograd all sin in varying degrees. In the case of Berlin, *das stramme System* of the Prussians has become the German rule of life as the war has shown. Its best aspect is what Mr. Lloyd George has called the potato-bread spirit; its worst need not be discussed, it is too well known. But it has arisen from the Berlin centralization of life with its deification of the almighty state, and this has been carried to such an extent that even social reform is made evil by contributing to the worship of the state which is set above the moral law.

#### *Paris and Berlin, Analogies and Contrasts.*

Every year that the centralizing process lasts renders it more difficult to make steps between the fiercely-contrasted regions centralized at Paris and Berlin. With the deep

impoverishment of the "Great Powers" there looms up the possibility of some larger aggregation, and one cannot but hope that it may be one which will be less cruel to regional characteristics than is the present *régime*, even at its best. Regional folk-life is one of the greatest sources of freshness, art and health. The sundering of movements, be they universities, governments, churches or other corporations from the folk-life seems to lead through systematisation to decay. The first intuition gets dim and an ecclesiastical, a military, an official or a financial aristocracy takes the place of the spiritual one which can alone keep life healthy. The centralizing tendency has effected much in the destruction of petty jealousies that once led to war and destruction, and it has spread great ideas again and again for the enrichment of human personality. Paris has deserved the homage which France, Europe, and the whole world have offered to her leadership. There is, however, the inherent danger of too great extension of the city's authority, of its extension over regions with a very different folk-life and folk-tradition. When this is the case the city, instead of being a centre of expression and of free criticism of folk life, tends to develop the more mechanical administrative aspect of its influence, and thus comes into conflict with what we have urged is one of the great fountains of inspiration. The dangers in the case of Berlin are far greater than those, still far from negligible, in the case of Paris.

Without entering into detail here it may be pointed out that the contrasts between the two cities themselves, in their general plans as well as in their styles of building, are typical of their even greater vital contrasts. The poverty of Berlin in mediæval inheritances is perhaps its greatest misfortune. The undisputed centre of Paris is *Nôtre Dame*, rich in its long and growing chain of associations with the drama of human history.

Berlin is dominated by the *Unter den Linden* about which are set in stolid array the evidences of the Royal Power and of the unparalleled administrative machine, as well as of their strictly subordinated and much regulated forms of artistic, intellectual, and religious expression.

Paris, on the other hand, rejoices in its hill of *S. G  n  vi  * south of the *Seine*, a slope with Roman memories that became the *Quartier Latin* of the Middle Ages, a city set on a hill indeed, a hill around which has blown for centuries the wind of the spirit. The royal associations are subordinate to those of religion and learning, and gather most of all perhaps around the *Louvre* in which, very characteristically, the artistic interests of the French people have subsequently made a treasure-house.

Berlin illustrates too largely the strength of the administrative machine. Paris, in spite of its centralizing influence, still speaks to us all of the strivings of man's soul.

H. J. FLEURE.

## THE FUNCTION OF THE PRIEST.

OF all the distinctions that place ministers and clergymen apart from the members of other trades and professions, their humble criticism of themselves and their work is the most remarkable. Dr. Fort Newton says the Church to-day has lost its faith and speaks with a trembling hesitating voice. The Bishop of London declares that the clergy are out of touch with the world to such an extent that the great Mission of Repentance and Hope ought to arouse a keener sense of self-reproach in the minds of the bishops than of any of their followers. The new Bishop of Exeter acknowledges that the hymns and prayers and sermons are uninteresting, and actually compares attendance at church, as a discipline, with fighting and waiting in the trenches. Dean Inge avers that working men take but little interest in Christianity, because they know nothing, and care less, about the ancient Hebrews and Greeks and Romans who shaped it into an ecclesiastical organization. Canon Carnegie states that a League of 3,000 Christians, whom he addressed a little while ago in a manufacturing district, were so wrapt up in their devotions that they did nothing to save the inhabitants from the depravity that living in overcrowded neighbourhoods invariably tends to produce. Canon Deane asserts that "the things which appear of absorbing importance to the clergy are almost without meaning to the average educated layman"; while "the curious idiom of his sermons or his elaborate ceremonial, which seem to them in the nature of amiable eccentricities," are tolerated by the uneducated folk because he is "a good sort" who has consoled them in the terrible sorrow that the war has brought them, if he has not shown them a vision wherein they and all men can see the splendour of the life that their sacrifice is giving to the community. And the Archbishop of Canterbury admits that the services of the Church are unattractive, but does not see how he could alter them without abandoning the liturgical system and the Prayer Book.

In order to decide how far realities justify this chorus of contritions one must know what purpose religion serves. No one who compares the religious doctrines and practices of different peoples throughout the world record can avoid forming the conclusion that they are all contrivances for promoting happiness, particularly in untoward circumstances. Although they have always promised their followers rewards in heaven for the joys



that life on earth precludes, apparently of necessity, Christian teachers are ashamed of this ideal and sometimes hide it from themselves rather disingenuously. For example, one of the leading apologists of the day writes, "Jesus never suggests that goodness, as he understands it, will pay, although he knows that without it there is neither peace nor content." Undoubtedly religious leaders put as high a value on happiness as everyone else does. They fancy they do not because they think that to some extent making people happy is ignoble work. So it is if anyone whomsoever is excluded from the range of it. But if everyone without exception is included, the task becomes great and glorious beyond the dreams of the heroes and heroines of all history. For the clergy it would be a sterner discipline than any religious rule has imposed on them in the past; for only to begin it they would have to give up all Teutonic notions of standardizing individuals and nations, and initiate a series of delicate adaptations of persons to society as a whole which would tax both their sympathies and their intellect to the utmost.

Their first care would be the study of human nature. On this no one has thrown more light than Professor Freud. It is a pity, therefore, that he has prejudiced so many thinkers against his revelations by giving such a wide significance to the word "sexual," and illustrating his theories, for the most part, by reference to the crudest manifestations of love. Doubtless the little boy's desire, with the attendant jealousies and fears, to take the father's place in the mother's affections, arises from incipient sex feeling, but it cannot possibly involve all the thoughts and impulses which adults associate with amorous inclinations; and Professor Freud has not given his readers to understand that it ever does. What he has done is to show that the child is an egoist pure and simple. The boy perceives that his father and mother stand in a unique relation to one another, and he envies the former because he knows that if he were married to his mother she would give him special privileges that would make him something like what he conceives a god or a king to be. Thus he experiences not a little of the sense of self-importance which falling in love and setting up a home will enhance in him later, even while they induce the transformation which Tennyson described in the words:

"Love took up the harp of Life, and smote on all the chords with might;  
Smote the chord of Self, that, trembling, passed in music out of sight."

The selfishness of the child is boundless. He indulges in the most extravagant fantasies with regard to his own powers and importance, and were he taught no consideration for others he would become as brutal and dissolute as an Oriental potentate. Adults can learn the nature of primitive egoism by studying what the Germans do and say under the influence of the idea that they are under no obligation to anyone who does not belong to their own



race. The Kaiser's inflated self-laudations are ridiculous and immoral because they are infantile. In his addresses to his troops he betrays exactly the sort of greediness that children evince before they have acquired any sense of proportion or learnt to love anyone but themselves.

Sane ordinary men and women can best realize the state of mind which dictates utterances like his, and recollect the vanities of childhood in which it originated, by thinking of those brief moments of intense erotic erethism with which they least care to identify themselves—the moments commemorated by Walt Whitman in that inartistic piece of realism, "The Children of Adam," at which a man or a woman fiercely desires to populate the whole earth with his or her progeny, and gloats confidently over the sovereign power that self-reproduction to that extent would entail. When he calls to mind these humiliating experiences, the honest thinker will comprehend the untamed and perverse sexuality of the German soldiers and the Kaiser's exhortations to his people to increase and multiply to the overwhelming of all other peoples. He will further see that if it is not curbed the child's egoism, as a rule, develops, in maturity, into unbridled sexuality, as in the case of Rousseau and Byron, although it is nothing but the ignorance of inexperience at the outset.

If the minister of religion is to teach unselfishness effectually he must, evidently, have a profound knowledge of the sexual emotions. Loving and being loved are the essence of life, and no one who did not want to give and receive love could be said to live at all. The clergyman who shrinks from learning the psychology of sex ought to remember, that although it reveals the ugliest characteristics of the mind, it also brings to light the most beautiful. All that is lovely and of good report springs from the relation of the mother and father to each other and the child; and if the priest, by dealing faithfully with the primal affections, can widen their scope and so guide them that they do no wrong to anyone, old or young, he ought willingly to face the horrors that he will be obliged to encounter in the process. Moreover, if he does not understand sex he will never be able to close the most fruitful source of misery—the birth of children to people who do not want them, or have not the means to do justice to them.

The difficulty of the work is that the capacity for loving is unlimited and the longing to be loved insatiable. The impulse to self-assertion in which these dispositions largely consist cannot be subdued; and the function of the priest is that of providing imaginative satisfactions for the yearnings that reality never meets. But he cannot fulfil that office without studying the material as well as the immaterial wants of his people, and constantly re-shaping facts into some sort of conformity with his ideals. His efficiency

depends upon science and common sense on the one hand, art and imagination on the other.

In order to perform the mundane part of his duties there is no doubt that he should be a consulting psychologist, and be able to tell individuals who sought his aid how to overcome griefs or faults which they were anxious to get rid of, but did not know how to attack. The authorities of that unique school, the Medico-Psychological Clinic, and of Professor Millicent Mackenzie's new training college of national service, are already thinking out courses of study for social workers; and these curricula teachers who aspire to inculcate morals or preach the gospel would do well to follow with deep attention. The doctors who work at the former institution have gained their reputation by actually healing the mental wounds and correcting the defects of which they undertake the treatment; and physicians who devote themselves to the cure of souls ought to be content with no meaner measure of success. If they state complacently that, however strong his faith, and however noble his works, a man will be a sinner throughout his career, they disparage the power of God and their own ministrations in a way that should be impossible in these days of unparalleled courage and self-sacrifice on the part of men and women of all sorts. The members of the churches ought to be able to feel that the words, "Him that cometh unto Me I will in no wise cast out," and "Come unto Me all ye that labour and are heavy laden and I will give you rest," are invitations to ask the advice of the pastor when they are in trouble, and that they can go to him without any fear that he will throw them back upon themselves by resorting to professional generalities like, "read the Bible," "come to church regularly," or "pray."

A pastor who had spent four or five years in mastering Dr. Freud's technique, and at the same time studying group psychology, would be able to find efficacious remedies for not a few of the sorrows by which most people are afflicted at some time or other in their lives. As a rule the defect lies in themselves as well as in their circumstances. For bringing their sin home to them the minister can have no more searching instrument than psycho-analysis. It is, of course, from cases of mental disease that the uninitiated can derive the clearest conception of its nature. A good illustration is afforded by the girl who was in love with her brother-in-law, and who thought, with a momentary thrill of exultation, as she stood by her sister's deathbed, "Now he is free and can marry me." Shocked at her own wickedness, the next moment she thrust the unhallowed wish right away from her consciousness together with all remembrance of what evoked it. Nevertheless, it remained active in a separate world all of its own, and made her do many strange things which had no connection with the life that she led in her sane moments; and it was not until the physician had

brought the offensive desire to her remembrance, by the same sort of associative process that everyone goes through to recover lost memories, that it merged into the stream of her conscious experiences and lost its aggressiveness. She had to overcome her repugnance to the idea that she was capable of delight over her sister's death, and realize that she had actually harboured the unholy thought with eager hospitality, before the breach it had made in her mind could be healed. Without this conviction of sin the cure could not have been effected.

That example shows how the work of the minister as psychologist would differ from that of the doctor, and how unwise it is for religious teachers to dwell upon the awfulness of sin and make solemn pronouncements about the penalties it entails. Grossly selfish thoughts flash across everyone's mind from time to time, and purely animal desires worry all healthy persons, high-minded and low-minded alike. The patients of the pastor-psychologist would, for the most part, be people who were quite aware of their faults, or would offer little resistance to the exposure, at the interviews, of any which they did not know of. The pain would consist not in forgotten feelings, but in remembered ones. The sane man vividly recollects all his disappointments and failures, and with special clearness can he recall every shock of a sexual kind that has ever occurred to him. What would drive him to the Freudian confessional would be not some tic or obsession or phobia, but the perception that by employing a little ingenuity and intelligence such as a well-informed student of human nature can impart, he might learn how to give adequate satisfaction to his own need for self-assertion and also to that of everyone with whom he comes into close contact, and thus avert a good deal of unhappiness. If Dr. Breuer's patient from whose paralysis he divined the secret of hysteria had expressed instead of concealing her disgust when she saw the dog drinking out of the glass, the feeling, probably, would not have translated itself, later, into the distressing inability to drink; and if she could have communicated the anxieties that her father's illness gave her to some kind confessor as they arose, they would not have divided her mind against itself.

One or two illustrations will show what the consultant's work would be like. A newsagent, perhaps, who was harassed by the insubordination of his errand boys, might ask him how to manage them. The psychologist would find out the way from scout-masters, teachers, various employers and other managers of boys, show him how to act on the information, and in this way spare him a nervous breakdown. Again, an extremely able professor about to be dismissed for appropriating some of the money of his college might be retained if access to the funds were made impossible for him, or some help were given him to obtain by honest means the

thing for which he wanted the money. The psycho-analyst would determine whether the theft was due to an irresistible impulse or some other kind of weakness, and would remove the conditions of it. Thus the transgressor would not forfeit his life interests or the university his knowledge and skill. No self-righteous colleagues would sit in judgment on him, and everyone would understand that certain temptations must not be put in his way, just as wine must not be placed before a victim of the gout and invitations to the seaside must not be given to sufferers from eczema.

The delicate problem which the psychologist as minister would have to solve would be that of showing his examinees the worst in themselves in such wise that they could not help recognizing and acknowledging it, and yet of preventing them from becoming so familiar with it as to lose their shame of it. He could surmount the difficulty to a large extent by pointing out ways in which the constant striving of the individual for self-realization could be carried on without encroachment upon the rights of others. Suppose a girl frankly told him that she wanted to get away from her father and mother. If he knew her and her family well, as a pastor ought to, and were liked by them, he might then be able to prove to them that they were acting on a certain fixed idea about the relations between parent and child which in their own case was not true. The influence of the mother and father on a child is often most unfortunate, though all three may tenaciously and conscientiously entertain the pathetic belief that they love one another dearly and are each doing what pleases the other most. The psychologist could suggest many compromises that might bring the desires of one member of the family into harmony with those of the rest. Probably he could also bring about an early liberation of the child from the control of the parent which would be of advantage to both. Marrying and having children is not an altruistic proceeding, and it makes for the welfare of the latter not purposively, but incidentally. The charm of possessing a home of one's own consists, largely, in ruling over a kingdom of which one is the undisputed sovereign, and in pursuing the very ambitions which, when they are intensified to white heat, in highly gifted egoists,

"Prey upon high adventure, nor can tire  
Of aught but rest."

As Samuel Butler showed ruthlessly in "The Way of all Flesh," mothers and fathers gain a sense of grandeur from their parenthood which is anything but unselfish. They arrogate the best rooms in the house to their own use, determine the hours of work and recreation that the children and the servants are to have, choose the friends who shall visit the family—put their own stamp on the thoughts and actions of all the household. Many observers

have noticed how elderly women who have lived always in the home of their childhood, dutifully and contentedly, will sometimes wake up, as from a dull dream, to renewed youth, when their mother and father die, and achieve great skill and find an ecstasy of delight in some one or more of the innumerable arts or businesses that are now deemed to be within the capacity of women. Both for the parents and these grown-up children the suppression of the real self in the latter is a tragedy, and religious preceptors ought to do all they can to prevent those who look to them for guidance from enacting it. As Dr. Montessori and Sir Robert Baden-Powell have proved, independence and responsibility constitute the only discipline that form and strengthen character; and therefore boys and girls, while they are protected from evil, ought to have as much freedom for self-expression as they can enjoy without curtailing the liberties of the older folk with whom they live.

It is in their work and their love affairs that they will find or lose themselves the most readily when they reach maturity. Consequently most of the pressures and tensions of emotion which it is the business of the clergyman to relieve concern marriage and vocation. The latter is the more important, because it is a life interest, whereas amatory passions are fugitive. Moreover, delight in one's occupation steadies the affections and gives one a distaste for sex pleasures of the baser sort. Work that a man loves has the same sort of fascination for him that love adventures have, and it has a higher social value and is a more beneficent factor in the life of the individual. Hence the clergyman would obviate many a sorrow and many a sin by helping the young to discover their aptitudes and make the best of them. The excellent results which have been accomplished in that direction by the American vocationists, and by experimentalists in psychology like Dr. William Brown, Professor Münsterberg, and Mr. Cyril Burt, should be inspiring to him and make him confident that no human being, however stupid or vile, need waste a single talent which might be of service to anyone, or go through the world unloved and unappreciated.

The clergyman could also do much towards bringing about happy marriages. The mixed clubs which the National Union of Women Workers have instituted during the war period are an amazing object lesson for the prudish folk who think that girls and men of the working classes cannot enjoy unrestrainedly each other's company without unwholesome sentimentalities and secrecies. So also is the gardening experiment that Miss Bolton and the Rev. T. Given-Wilson have carried out at Plaistow. It soon turned the disposition of the boys and girls to spend their leisure in flirtation, tippling, and loafing, into comradeship in pursuing a charming and useful hobby; and even cigarettes and picture palaces lost their attractions after a time for the busy



cultivators who were all determined to send prize blossoms to the flower show. There is unlimited scope for such friendship between girls and young men as the National Union and the Plaistow Mission have created, and by fostering it in every parish the minister could induce the young folk of the poorer sort to engage in educational pursuits instead of in those which result in the birth of illegitimate children and in prostitution. In the upper social ranks he could bring happy marriages to pass by convincing his people that money and position are dross in comparison with love.

It is in making idealism effective that the chief rôle of the clergy consists; and sometimes the work done at schools of psychology and medicine is so matter-of-fact and inartistic, in its bald polished newness, that many of them will always prefer to devote themselves to the arts curricula, and leave science alone. They are the vicars of Christ; and their humble office it is to manifest, as in a theatre flooded with light from heaven, the virtue and beauty of certain personalities the splendour of which transcends that of the work-a-day men "who eat bread on the earth." Of such personalities there are many in every age, for as Paul the Apostle declared, God never leaves Himself without witnesses. Men of genius to-day, as in bygone times, are telling the old old story of love; and if God's people harden not their hearts, as in the day of temptation in the wilderness of commercialisms that was forced upon the nations before the war, they will hear His voice in the message of those prophets.

The musician tells the story in one way, the poet in another, the painter in another. The creative thinker is extremely sensitive to stimuli, and his impressions are deep, vivid, and numerous. So great is the volume of his memories, particularly of those which belong to his childhood, the time when the tide of life was the strongest and every common sight had "the glory and the freshness of a dream," that they automatically burst the confines of dogmatic thought and fashion new and curious forms for themselves. The energy with which the combinations are made is mighty and swift, and various and wonderful are the shapes woven by this dreamlike activity which a mere trifle, perhaps,—a flower, a gem, a sunset, or a sweet face—will set in motion, and which will connect that impression of to-day, by a train of associations wrought into a beautiful pattern, with the deepest and earliest experiences of youth. Not, indeed, for the creeds and abstractions of the moralist and the philosopher has the religious man cause to be thankful:

"But for those first affections,  
Those shadowy recollections,  
Which, be what they may,  
Are yet the fountain light of all our day,  
Are yet a master light of all our seeing."



The artist is hurt so deeply by the wrongs of the world—and, it must be conceded, by his own petty personal chagrins also—that he is compelled to cry out against them and frame a heaven of his own which is a compensation for them. Silence would beget insanity, as in the case of Dr. Breuer's patient, who so cleverly named the process by which she relieved her mind "the talking cure," or, when she was in a joking mood, "chimney-sweeping." The main difference between the ravings of the hysteric and the rhapsodies of the poet is that the latter are based not on caprices, but on systematic observations of enormously wide range, and on the choice of the significant events of the day as links with the distant past. Everyone feels that what the seer has proclaimed is exactly what he wants to say himself. Hence the use of the terms, "divine" and "immortal" as descriptions of inspired creators like Beethoven, Dante, and Shakespeare. It is this power of divining what all men seek which led the sages of old to call the poet a prophet. He knows what the unconscious wishes of the people are, defines them in splendid shapes, and thus indicates ways of realizing them. His thoughts are so striking that they set up lively movements in the minds of all who entertain them, and translate themselves into actions that keep on making reality more and more like the paradise one hopes for. As Professor F. C. Prescott says, "the true priest," like the poet-prophet, "sees truth by subjecting the shows of things to our highest aspirations, and ministers to the comfort and peace of mankind."

This function he could fulfil by reading poetry to his congregation, telling them stories and opening up the realm of art to them in other ways. There is overwhelmingly cogent evidence to show that services of that nature would be popular; and they could be held on a Sunday afternoon so that they did not interfere with those of the churches. "Bards, minstrels, storytellers, have been for generations unknown to the countryside," says the Rev. R. L. Gales. "But these, above almost everything, are what the people want. They need the imaginative presentment of what is personal, large, tragic, splendid, of simple and elemental human things." Exactly the kind of congregation that a minister loves to have—old and young, rich and poor, educated and uneducated together—will listen spellbound for hours to stories told by gifted narrators like Miss Marie Shedlock, Miss Elizabeth Clark, and Mrs. Emelyn Partridge; and afterwards they wake up refreshed as from a beautiful dream. From the Bible and the Nibelungenlied, the Odyssey and the Arthurian legends, the Norse saga and the Indian myths and hundreds of other cycles of folk tales they derive the same joy as one experiences in religious ecstasy, falling in love, and being a child before the years have brought the inevitable yoke.

That the people at large love good music in the same way, or readily learn to love it if they hear it often enough, has been proved

by very numerous individuals and societies—the concert parties at the Front, for instance; the War Service Committee of the Brotherhood of Arts, Crafts, and Industries; the Concert Committee of South Place Institute; the Ancoats Brotherhood; the minister and deacons of New Tabernacle Congregational Church in Old Street, London, where working men gather gladly, every week in the winter, to hear musical works of classical fame; and the Maidstone Choral Union, who have charmed care away even from sullen ill-conditioned convicts by compositions chosen without thought of any supposed necessity to play down.

Poetry would be liked just as well if it were read beautifully, so that the rhythm could be felt even if, as in the chanting of Latin psalms or words rendered unimpressive by repetition, the sense were not understood or even thought of. The lunch-hour poetry services in certain London city churches have been a great success; and Miss Marie Shedlock once read some passages from Shakespeare and Milton to a class of elementary school children, who delightedly learnt them by heart on their own initiative. Biographies of men and women who were tempted in all points like as everyone is would also be acceptable to all sorts of people. Heroes of the war, such as Pegoud, Sir Victor Horsley and Edith Cavell, and public servants of the past, like Abraham Lincoln, Florence Nightingale, and William Morris, would furnish good subjects; and perhaps the histories might be told in sections, as the serial stories in the magazines are, each leaving the hearer on the tiptoe of expectation. Fine essays would have their place, and occasional moralities and mysteries acted by the members of the new churches out of sheer delight in the presentation would make a refreshing variation in the proceedings. Pictures could be put on show one at a time, after the Japanese fashion that betrays artistic feeling so much more delicate than do the walls of Burlington House, bombarding the senses with a riot of discordant impressions. The educationists who are now advocating, and actually holding, appreciation classes—Mr. Stewart Macpherson, M. Cousinet, Dr. F. H. Hayward, Mr. Hardress O'Grady, Professor Selwyn Image, and many others—could make out admirable programmes to suit various districts; and the movement begun in the churches might be carried forward on week-days by dramatic societies, in town and country, like the Dunmow Institute, the Cotswold Players, and the St. George's Popular Entertainment Society. The rougher kind of folk-songs and fairy tales that relax the tyranny of consciousness by less childlike ways than the religious one—jesting, wit, humour, and so on—might be read and sung and recited in the recreational coffee and beer houses that are now being substituted for the old boozing establishments; and in time, perhaps, village dances and street minstrelsy might take the place, in the social life of the nation, that is now held by

music-halls and gaming houses. Preaching and moralizing are unnecessary, for, as the war has plainly shown, the moral nature of the people is perfectly sound. Let the minister put the right and wrong before them in picture, poem, and story, without any comment, and they will almost invariably side with and strive to copy the good folk whom the artist portrays, and hate the bad ones.

To-day we are compassed about with a cloud of witnesses who are testifying of "the things that are more excellent." One of the few mistakes that Mr. and Mrs. Partridge have made in their excellent book on story-telling is that of stating that modern tales have a merely intellectual origin and do not spring from the deep unconscious desires which all peoples and all individuals have in common. Mrs. Carey Morris, Dr. Marie Stopes, Lord Dunsany, Mr. Maurice Baring, and a multitude of others are producing stories which come from just the same source of inspiration as the sacred books and the cycles of national songs; and sculptors, composers, decorative-art workers, painters and poets by the score are also drawing on the inexhaustible reserves of those magic wells for the benefit of a heedless world. The artist can bring into the area of his judgment forgotten experiences such as uninspired men and women can recall and reconcile with everyday realities only by his aid, and sick people whose minds are disorganized only through a tedious analysis made by a psychiatrist. The symbols which the artist uses are versions of infantile sex impulses, but these do not make his work a polluted thing, any more than the ugly soiled root makes the oak tree weak or sullies the purity of the white lily. Dr. Brill's patient, who, whatever he was doing, kept on madly thinking and saying that he was killing time, provides a good illustration of the translation process. Having unconsciously conceived a dislike for his father for marrying again, he had thought of a certain old man who resembled the offender as "Father Time." The cunning under-personality who entertained the hatred fused the father's image with the stranger's, changed the picture of the venerable man with the flowing beard into the word "time," and cut out "father." Then the desire to get rid of his father could lead an active existence, liberated from the personality as a whole with which it was out of harmony, in complete disguise.

Nearly all the figures of speech that *littérateurs* employ—Mother Earth, for example, the many-coloured dome of life, and the rosy-fingered dawn—are to be traced, through intricate chains of associations, to the sex instincts. Personal as well as universal symbolisms appear in works of art, and they are all the ultimate expression of infantile egoisms—Turner's triumph, for instance, over his one-eyed critics which, Dr. Hayward points out, is, partially, the significance of his "Ulysses defying Polyphemus," and Whistler's theory, in "Ten o'Clock," that the artist is an

exalted solitary being who owes nothing to traditions and schools and audiences, which arose from his despotic desire to be a god among men.

Indeed, the psychology of Dr. Freud throws a flood of light upon genius. To give illustrations: it explains William Morris's outbursts of childish rage and impatience, Goldsmith's propensity for living entirely in the present, Stendhal's colossal egoism, and the passionate love that men of letters have for the classics. Reading Homer's paratactic lines after following a modern writer's labyrinth of statements connected by relatives is as invigorating as having a game with a child; and the reduction of words and phrases to their simplest meanings in which Greek and Latin composition consists relieves the mind of many an intellectual burden. Great, therefore, will be the need of maintaining classical teaching, for students of literary tastes, amidst the clamour for materialistic and utilitarian education which will be raised after the war. As Mr. Lloyd George said at the last great religious festival of Wales,

National ideals without imagination are but as the thistles of the wilderness. We shall need at the end of the war better workshops, but we shall also need more than ever every institution that will exalt the vision of the people above and beyond the workshop and the counting house. We shall need every national tradition that will remind them that men cannot live by bread alone.

To bring art out of the unhealthy atmosphere of the drawing-room and the studio into the churches and schools, the streets and fields, will be to effect a religious regeneration. The shameful haggling over war profits which has taken place, to the nation's peril, among trade unionists and members of parliament, could hardly have occurred had public spirit been roused by the reading, in all the churches, of such poems as Mr. Laurence Binyon's "For the Fallen," or Mr. John Masefield's "August 1914," and by the exhibition, one by one for a month or two, of such pictures as M. Abel Faivre's *A la belle étoile*, M. Alfred Roll's *La Belgique*, and M. Willette's decorative painting that symbolizes the guilt of Germany and Austria. Let us be generous to our creative thinkers in the future. In order to gain access to the thoughts and feelings of childhood from which they derive their power, they have to put themselves into a dream resembling hypnotism. The difficulty of establishing the necessary connection between the present and the past prolongs the dream into their prosaic hours, and makes them unhappy, and even foolish, in work other than their own. Had Edward MacDowell not been obliged to teach he would probably have lived for some years longer to give priceless melodies and harmonies to the world, before his mind was plunged into darkness; and if Emerson had persisted in his gardening experiment he would have impaired the dream powers that were the birthday gift of some good cradle fairy. A youth and picture

religion is needed, and it is the poets and craftsmen who can give us one. It would suit both religious and non-religious people and bring together members of all denominations. Jews, perhaps, Roman Catholics, and High Churchmen specially would find it attractive.

If the minister objects to works of art as vehicles of idealism on the ground that they are almost exclusively concerned with the sex passions, he is condemning religion itself, which, undoubtedly, is an elaboration of love sentiments. Religious excitement is greatest when romantic love is most intense, for 16·4 is the average age of conversion; and in all eras piety, especially in its more stately forms, has been resorted to as a compensation for disappointment in love. To the children of grace, although they do not consciously regard him as such, God is the ideal lover, to whom they are, and always will be, of infinite importance, whatever their imperfections may be. For these he will forgive them over and over again. In fact, such is the divine favouritism that he will fail to see their defects, and will impute righteousness to them though their deeds be anything but righteous.

As an outlet for the admirations of youth romance offers much less danger than conventional religion, at any rate in cases in which the real character of the latter is ignored. About the priest who conducts the confirmation classes many a girl weaves her first love-dreams, and curates are generally beset by bands of women admirers whose rivalries and sentimentalities are not edifying. In morbid minds the worship of the Madonna may favour the growth of an "Oedipus complex"; and contemplation of the crucifixion may lead to masochism, which perpetuates pain by glorifying it, as the crossbearer Christians are now doing when they tell us that God sent the war, and therefore we must meekly bear the sufferings it necessitates. If God were a sadist he could certainly do no better, in order to please Himself, than appoint the Kaiser His deputy and set the Germans at work to devise tortures for mankind. But the Church would do well to discountenance all such unwholesome thoughts, and to eschew leaders who preach abject submission to authority and practice mortifications. Love ought to develop as

"Petal by petal spreads the perfect rose,  
Secure of the divine event";

and if, in observing the conditions that bring the flower of the human mind to perfection, our prelates have to sacrifice the liturgical system, no one will regret the loss.

M. E. ROBINSON.



## THE STATE UNIVERSITY IN AMERICA.

FEW features of modern American life are more remarkable or more pregnant for the future than the great development, in number, resources, and power, of the universities, especially those which have been established and are controlled under state authority.

The American state university seems at first sight a cosmopolitan institution. It includes an arts college, borrowed from Oxford and Cambridge; a graduate school, largely of German origin; professional schools of law, medicine, dental surgery, pharmacy, and technical institutes of engineering, architecture, agriculture, forestry, which have been influenced by almost all European countries; forms of university extension which have given the British phrase a quite American meaning. The place of the university in the state system suggests at least the centralized educational policies of France and Germany. Yet in spite of all these influences from abroad, the state university in the United States is peculiarly and characteristically American in spirit, methods, and ideals.

While there are in the eastern states universities which receive subsidies from the public treasuries, and in all these commonwealths agricultural colleges and experiment stations which are jointly supported by state and federal funds, the fully developed typical state university is an institution in the Middle West and the Far West. In certain places—notably, Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota, California, Ohio, Missouri, Nebraska—all higher publicly supported education is unified in one university. In other states—for example, Michigan, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, the Dakotas, Washington, Oregon—schools of agriculture, of engineering, or of mines are conducted as independent institutions. The unified system is regarded as the more efficient. With a few exceptions the strongest state universities are found in those states which have placed all higher education under a single control in one centre.

The state university is administered by a board of from six to fifteen trustees or regents, who are either appointed for terms of from three to six years by the governor of the state, or are elected, usually from designated districts, by popular vote. In the older states there is little or no attempt on the part of the politicians to interfere with the educational policies of the universities. Trustees or regents are selected not for partisan reasons but because of their standing as broad-minded and public-spirited citizens. As a rule



they receive no compensation save travelling expenses. In a number of states a *per diem* allowance is provided for time devoted to official duties. A few commonwealths are experimenting with small salaried boards. These have been far from successful. In more recently organized states, where frontier conditions have not wholly yielded to sound traditions of public policy, the state universities are still subject at times to sinister political interference.

In the leading state universities there is a well-understood division of labour between the teaching staff and the governing board. To the former are entrusted the duties of formulating curricula, recommending appointments, promotions, and dismissals of faculty members, supervising student life, indicating needs for additional buildings, equipment, and maintenance funds. The regents have final authority in all questions, but they usually confine their attention to the university budget, the care of the buildings and equipment, and to general policies which affect the relation of the university to the people of the state. The president of the university is the medium of communication between the faculties and the governing board. The deans, the administrative heads of the different divisions of the university, form with the president a kind of executive committee or cabinet.

The revenues of the state university are derived from the following sources:—(1) The State Treasury, either through a fixed tax or special biennial appropriation; (2) the Federal Government, in support chiefly of agriculture; (3) the income on capital derived from the sale of public lands set aside by the Federal Government for educational purposes; (4) fees paid by students either as tuition fees or for various special services, *e.g.* library, laboratory, gymnasium fees; (5) sales of agricultural and other produce; (6) fees for expert service rendered through experiment stations, etc.; (7) gifts from private sources. For the year 1914-15 the total revenue of the University of Minnesota, which may be regarded as representative of the group of larger unified institutions, was \$455,000. Of this sum \$284,000 came from the State, \$18,500 from the Federal Government, and \$45,000 from students.

Graduation from public high schools—which correspond to the elementary and higher-grade council schools in England—or from private schools of accredited grade, admits, under certain restrictions as to studies pursued, to the state university without further examination. The university, therefore, is an organic part of the state educational system, of which it forms the crown. The institution draws students from every part of the commonwealth. The average annual cost for an education does not exceed \$100 per annum. A small minority of students reduce the expense to \$50. By summer employment and by working during term-time hundreds of young people earn considerable sums. Many are able to defray a large part of their expenses. A few are wholly self-

supporting. Scholarships, fellowships, and loan funds are at the disposal of able and deserving students. The system has many of the virtues of the democratic Scotch plan of encouraging the promising youth in the remotest hamlet to make his way to Edinburgh, or Aberdeen, or Glasgow.

So far as degrees are concerned, there is a tendency toward one degree, the A.B. (B.A.), granted for the completion of a four-year undergraduate course. The B.S. still persists in many universities to distinguish a predominantly scientific course from one which lays chief stress upon the languages and the social sciences. Graduate study in special fields leads to the M.S. or the M.A. after one year of residence, and to the Ph.D., which requires three years of specialisation and evidence of ability to use independently the methods of modern research. For completion of the professional and technical courses appropriate degrees, LL.B., M.D., D.D.S., M.E., etc., are conferred. The response of the popular high schools to community demands for vocational training, and the requirements of the professional schools for college preparation for their matriculation, are gradually changing the character of the arts curriculum. Greek has well-nigh disappeared; Latin is dwindling; mathematics, except as a prerequisite for advanced work in physics and engineering, is being reduced in amount. The natural sciences, modern languages, history, economics, political science, sociology, courses in business, journalism, public administration, are waxing as the traditional subjects wane.

Military training has long been required in all the state universities as a condition of receiving a subsidy from the Federal Government. Too generally this training, under regular army officers, has been perfunctory and of little value. A few universities have made the work serious and productive of results. A recent Act of Congress has authorized a new system which ought to make the state universities genuine military training stations. Uniforms and equipment will be supplied, the number of army officers increased, compulsory summer camps provided without expense to students, and compensation allowed to cadet officers. It is estimated that within a short time the state universities will be preparing annually 5,000 non-commissioned officers, many of whom after a year in the regular army will become second lieutenants in the national reserve. The military training, which all male students are compelled to undergo for two years, develops the institutional spirit, affords admirable discipline for an over-individualized type of youth, and will contribute increasingly to a readiness in which the United States is alarmingly lacking.

The state university not only conducts regular, and more or less standardized, courses for resident students, but it seeks to relate itself to all the occupational groups, local committees, and various

interests in the state. One institution has announced as its aim "a campus (the American equivalent for quadrangle) as wide as the commonwealth." Here are some of the methods for popularizing the knowledge, skill, and idealism of which the university is the centre, of taking the university to the people. Short courses of from three to six weeks are conducted for farmers, dairymen, stock-breeders, horticulturists, traction engineers, country shopkeepers, rural editors, Boy Scout leaders, country clergymen, medical practitioners, school teachers, etc. These courses are held at the university or at different centres in the state. Correspondence courses in a wide range of subjects are offered. Thousands of popular bulletins on farming and many other subjects are distributed free of charge. Lecture courses are conducted. Institutes for farmers are held in scores of villages and towns. Demonstration railway trains are sent out with vans of cattle, exhibits of grain, farm machinery, modern kitchen equipment, etc. Frequent stops are made for demonstrations and lectures. Sets of lantern slides and motion-picture reels are furnished to schools, churches, and social clubs. Student players are sent out with dramas of rural life, and many well-known modern plays. Travelling libraries, reading courses, syllabuses and literature bearing upon public questions are sent to debating clubs. Questions on all kinds of subjects are answered. In short, an effort is made to serve every individual or group that makes a serious demand upon the university for information and advice. In a single year one state university through all its agencies has some kind of contact with 300,000 individuals.

The state university renders important services to the community. It conducts geological, botanical, and zoological surveys; examines and reports upon mineral deposits, clays, peat, and other resources; experiments in the field of agriculture; tests materials of many kinds; conducts reference bureaus for the information of legislators, state and municipal officers; provides specialists for state commissions charged with the supervision of taxation, Civil Service, railways; makes surveys of school systems and co-operates with the state department of public instruction; in short, the university seeks to provide for the administrators of public affairs the best available information which bears upon the problems involved. In the words of one university president, "The university is ambitious to be the expert adviser of the state." That this is a delicate and difficult task in a democracy suspicious of experts is obvious. In the field of social economics and public administration, university intervention is often bitterly resented. The most successful work has been done in the application of science to the problems of agriculture and industry.

The state university has grown rapidly, has attempted to cover a wide field, and has, all things considered, accomplished notable

results. Higher education and professional training have been recognized not as individual privileges but as social necessities. Standards have been defined and raised. A spirit of social obligation has been fostered. What Mr. H. G. Wells calls "the sense of the state" has been deepened and made more vivid in tens of thousands of American minds. In the new era which is dawning, as the United States wakes from its complacent dreams of automatic prosperity, irresponsible isolation, and manifest destiny to face the problems of self-discipline and national efficiency, the state universities will have an exceptional opportunity to serve their commonwealths and the common country.

GEORGE E. VINCENT.

University of Minnesota.



## THE GOVERNMENT AS ADVERTISER.

GENERALIZING, one may say that the aim of all advertisement is to move the will. The advertiser seeks to induce his public to buy something, to use something, to go somewhere—in a word, to act.

The majority of advertisements presuppose existent and felt needs for which they set forth an objective. Man needs tobacco, whisky, ink. The aim of the man who advertises the tobacco or the whisky or the ink, is to direct the felt need into what, from his point of view, is the right channel. The need for whisky must become a need for "Black and White" or "Johanie Walker." To reach his aim the advertiser must gain three points. By some means or other he must attract the attention of the "advertisee," he must suggest that here in the object advertised lies the satisfaction of the individual's need. Further, he must repeat this suggestion until the "advertisee" knows it past all accident of forgetting. He must so repeat it that the suggestion does not lose its force. Attention must be attracted afresh while the impression is deepened. Here the advertiser is faced by the same difficulty as the school-master. He, too, must carry out Jacotot's maxim, *Répète sans cesse*, and at the same time he must stimulate the interest of his public. He must devise new pictures, new legends, new situations, with the same objective. It is interesting to note in this connection how subtle is the art of advertising. Mere repetition with no novelty in the appeal may lead to failure; but, on the other hand, invariability amid other changing advertisements may in itself have a special value. It may suggest invariability in the standing of the firm or the quality of the goods, or again may suggest that their reputation is beyond the need of any adventitious attraction.

The task of advertisement becomes more difficult when it is necessary to reinforce the basic need or impulse presupposed by the advertisement. It may not suffice to show that a certain article will fulfil a given purpose better than any other article on the market, unless at the same time the desire for the article in question can be strengthened. It will require more skill to frame an effective advertisement of a smoker's cabinet than to frame one of tobacco. Often indeed the advertiser has not merely to strengthen an impulse but to quicken it. He has to draw on the impulsive power of associated ideas with their emotional setting. His X must beget forth as "a bargain," "a novelty," "rare," "exclusive," when X in itself fails to attract attention. In this way or that the advertiser seeks to play upon the will of his public, and great must be his knowledge

of human nature, as well as of his advertising media, if he is to succeed in his art.

The Government have wished to quicken the will and enlighten the understanding of the people in regard to two of the necessities of war: viz., the raising of men and the raising of money; and they have so far followed the example of a business firm as to have recourse to advertisement. The official War Savings Committees are much in the position of an advertiser who has to create a need for his goods. The committees' aim is to induce saving and the investment of savings in government securities: a course of action for which we can hardly be said to have a natural impulse, or, to use the shibboleth of the day, an instinct. The actual success of the posters issued by the committees is difficult to gauge, but the manner in which the committees have tried to set forth their objective is worth consideration.

Some of the posters make their appeal for saving and investment through the group of ideas and emotions constituting love of country or pride in country. The silhouette of a lion against a khaki background and the legend, "Back the Empire with your savings," is one the best examples of this type. It has artistic merit, and is not unworthy of the place assigned it in the entrance hall of the British Museum. Is it the irony of fate that at this particular spot a steady stream of the British public should have been reduced to a thin trickle of readers by what is termed war saving? Another example is the excerpt from the Chancellor's speech: "The man, be he rich or poor, is little to be envied who at this supreme moment fails to bring forward his savings for the security of his country." This, surmounted by the royal arms, has somewhat the appearance of a proclamation. The poster is dignified in style, but is too small to attract notice when on a hoarding. Some posters set forth a categorical imperative with no attempt at a pragmatic sanction, e.g. "War Loan. Lend your Savings to the Nation to-day." "Wanted Men, Munitions, Money. If you can neither enlist nor make munitions, buy the new 4½% War Loan." Maybe the gold and the money-bag which decorate the latter, or the mass of silver and the Treasury note on the former, make some subtle appeal to pride in purse-strings; or, again, that the word "lend" arouses a sense of unctuous benevolence, but for a mind insensitive to such fine influences there remains only the bare command of duty.

Very different are the posters which base their appeal on the desire to injure the enemy. The most striking one of these is the picture of a typical Prussian soldier lying beneath a five-shilling piece, with the legend, "Lend your Five Shillings to your Country and crush the Germans." As a poster this is effective. The colouring is good and the print clear. It is well calculated to attract notice, and once observed would be remembered. Many persons



who condemn any appeal through the sentiment of hatred find this particular poster innocuous. To them it appears grotesque and appeals as "whimsical." To the same group belongs the blue poster with the border of silver coins, which declares in yellow letterpress: "You have in your pockets silver bullets that will stop the Germans. Lend them to your country by investing in the War Loan to-day." This is not so "brutal" in its appeal, but it is also not so effective. The colour contrast of the centre is striking, but the attempt to emphasize the reference to silver bullets by the border of coins is a failure. The poster is on too small a scale to permit an adequate representation.

The degree of association between letterpress and picture desirable in any advertisement will depend upon the stage which the advertiser has reached with his public. He may have already made certain objects or certain words so significant that they can stand without interpretation. The War Savings Committee is dealing with a public quite uneducated in respect to the objective in view, therefore closeness of association between legend and picture would seem to be essential. Some posters fail through neglect of this requirement. Such a poster as that of the bursting shell with 5/- inscribed in the midst of it and the words, "War Loan, invest to-day," above and below, does little to make clear the connection between money and munitions. On the other hand, the poster which bids you, "Turn your silver into bullets at the Post Office," and displays two handfuls of dropping coins transformed to bullets as they fall, brings out the essential point. Another equally good example is the poster issued by the Recruiting Committee, representing a large key with the words, "The Key to the Situation—Munitions, Men, and Money. Are you helping to turn it?" These and other posters of the same variety presuppose a recognition of the need for munitions, and aim at stimulating the desire to provide them. Perhaps one of the most successful is the poster which challenges the reader's liberality by setting forth the purchasing power of money in terms of munitions, "124 cartridges for 15/6." Very widespread is the appeal addressed to self-interest, "£1 for 15/6." This usually stands alone, but sometimes it is linked with maxims of universal benevolence, "Lend your savings to the nation."

Some of the posters which are least successful in picture or in letterpress are those addressed to non-combatants. Can anyone conceive of the dialogue between civilian and soldier entitled, "What is the Price of one of your Arms?" as taking place in real life? Again, can one look at the picture which accompanies, "Back them up: My Duty," without wondering whether so young a man is fulfilling his duty by merely emptying his pocket.

"Bad Form in Dress," is an excellent heading for a poster, and the enlistment of the social sanction in the service of thrift

most desirable, but the censorious note of the small letterpress below this heading irritates rather than stimulates, provokes criticism rather than induces reform. "The appeal to women. Make every penny do the work of two," may serve as a challenge to the sex's skill in contrivance, but the effect of the poster is weakened through the pointless Wedgwood plaques with which it is embellished.

Taken collectively, the posters compare unfavourably with the trade advertisements which cover our hoardings. They have little artistic merit, there is little which can be said to interest through cleverness of idea. There is nothing humorous, nothing moving in the whole collection. But in making such a criticism one has to remember the task which the committees had before them. Saving is not in itself an heroic enterprise. There is little to awaken imagination or stir the pulses in the call for economy. Yet the task was worth essaying. In it we see an organized effort by a democratic government to enlighten the nation and inform the will of the people, not by parliamentary debate, nor by articles in an inspired press, but by direct message. Whatever may be our judgment on the ability with which this enterprise is being carried out, it is in itself a social experiment without a parallel in our history.

BEATRICE EDGELL.



## THE ARTS AND CRAFTS EXHIBITION: ITS CIVIC AND EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS.\*

### I. WHAT THE CRAFTSMAN CAN DO FOR THE CITY.

THE aim of this paper is to gather together and express some of the underlying social conceptions which would seem, consciously or unconsciously, to have influenced the general design, arrangement, and scope of the Arts and Crafts Exhibition. Since the later Renaissance, and still more since the Industrial Revolution, the craftsman had tended to become a mere purveyor of luxuries for the rich; and in the revival of craftsmanship during the last generation he necessarily at first sought his patrons among rich individuals. This exhibition definitely marks the passage of the movement into a more civic phase. It indicates the attempt to pass from the old position to one more characteristic of all great creative epochs, when the craftsman has been the maker of cities, and the man who can both give form and expression to the civic and national ideals of worthiness and honour, and recognition to the great personalities that at once form a civilization and express it. The note of city design is struck at the entrance by the large mural decoration showing part of the suggestions for the transformation of Trafalgar Square. But a word of criticism is here inevitable. While welcoming the heightening of mere town planning into city design that comes with the artist-craftsman we cannot but point out an apparent confusion shown by this scheme between the functions of a Campo Santo and a People's Forum, such as Trafalgar Square has been and must remain. Westminster Abbey is our Campo Santo; and we venture to suggest an amendment of the new design which will recognise and maintain the different and complementary character of the Grand Places which respectively terminate Whitehall, northwards and southwards.

The first place in the exhibition proper is occupied by the Retrospective Room. The exhibits here afford a noble tribute to the genius of Burne-Jones, William Morris, Walter Crane, and others of those who revived craftsmanship in the past two generations. Amongst many very beautiful specimens of their art, most conspicuous is the glorious "Passing of Arthur." From this Retrospective Section we pass into the Textile Room, in which two tapestry looms are seen at work, and products of the loom are shown in cases and on the walls. Here the decorative frieze all round the walls presents the whole process of the wool craft and mystery from its rustic origin in the shepherd with his flock to its use in the high symbolism of Greek myth. We see the textile trade here worthily claiming its place in the making of civilization, and had space and time permitted possibly other crafts might have been treated in the same way. But we are well content with one so treated as a representative of all.

After the Textile Room the exhibition divides into two of different type. On the left is an exhibition of the old and passing type, on the right one of the new and coming type. Passing to the left, we enter a number of

1. Two papers read at the Arts and Crafts Exhibition, Burlington House, autumn 1916.

rooms showing more or less unrelated objects of *verve* and containing a multitude of delightful things, including a particularly interesting exhibit from the Birmingham Municipal Art School and some fine specimens of goldsmith's and silversmith's work by the President himself.

Leaving this suite of rooms in which new work is arranged in the old way of individualist effort or workshop tradition, let us pass into the more civic part of the exhibition. We enter by the great Hall of Heroes, which seems to give the central key to the exhibition and to form its crown. Leaving this hall for later consideration, we go on to the charming series entitled "Domus" in the catalogue, and showing complete rooms decorated by groups of craftsmen and designed as wholes, an attempt to indicate the House Beautiful as a necessary element in the life of the city. Beyond is the University Room, with its beautiful cases of printing and its interesting pair of contrasted friezes presenting on one side the vivid and picturesque survivals of university robes and processions, and on the other the dulness and drabness of the modern townspeople. The aesthetic contrast of *town and gown* could not be more emphatically illustrated. Entering next the Municipal Hall, we see an immense frieze depicting the assembled Arts and Crafts contributing their gifts to the service of the City. In the Rotunda—become an octagon for the occasion—a series of impressive altars show the craftsman as necessary to the expression of all the religious groups that manifest the fulness of civic life and guide its course. Thus the spiritual power of University and Church is seen to need the craftsman for its expression, while he has his everyday function also in home, marketplace, and civic hall.

But it is in the Central Hall of Heroes, we take it, that the exhibition is intended to culminate—or rather in this and the octagon together—with its telling motto, *Usui civium decori urbis*, and its central painting in the semi-dome of Humanity,—the Mother and Child—while on each side stand as guardian knights St. George and Joan of Arc. This is designed by Mr. Henry Wilson, the successor of William Morris and Walter Crane in the presidential chair of the Arts and Crafts Society, and the maker and soul of the present exhibition. Here we see the artist-craftsman expressing the better and nobler ideals of a time which has issued in the great war, with all that it means of chivalry and determination not to submit to tyranny and frightfulness—an appeal to the nation to "set the cause above renown" and not in any way to be overcome by the dragon it is fighting. Scenes of warfare and of help surround the hall, and in niches below the semidome stand Dante and Socrates, to remind us that there are heroes of emotion and of thought as well as of action, and that our warfare is not necessarily "with flesh and blood, but with the rulers of darkness in high places."

But how is the craftsman to capture the position aimed at in this exhibition of maker and ennobler of cities, and to hold it securely? The sociologist might, if consulted, venture to suggest that to attain such an end the craftsman should somewhat enlarge his training as at present understood. On the one hand, in order to generalize that mastery of the qualities of his material which characterizes the master-craftsman, he should become familiar with the actual sources from which his materials are drawn, the forest and its timber, quarry, mine, and claypit; on the other he should go on from the workshop training to the architect's and engineer's office in which the plan of the civic buildings to which all contribute is worked out, and it may be the plans for general development of the city determined. He should be given systematic opportunities

for acquaintance with the life and history of the great cities of the world, and with the development of his own city and the characteristics of its region. For surely, unless the craftsman has a due appreciation and understanding of the whole to which he is to contribute, he will remain, as he too often is, merely a curious artificer of beautiful things for the pleasure of the rich. In the great times of craftsmanship the craftsmen had both the general education and the comprehensive technical training. They were architects and engineers also; and we have lost this tradition of a more comprehensive training because of the depression in the position of the craftsman and the development of the merely office-trained architect (and subsequently the city engineer and surveyor, whom no one could possibly accuse of being an artist), marking the long decline in architecture which only of recent years has been checked by the reappearance of the craftsman ideal and the conception of town-planning. The city beautiful, if we ever see it upon earth again, except as the remnant of a past age, will be the city in which bodies of craftsmen trained in skill of hand and also full of civic vision will be in existence to express the life and character and to meet the needs of their own city.

Can these obtain the needed support and influence unless they are organized into guilds upholding their own standard of output, and uniting into one body those working in office and workshop, while ensuring to all something of a common training? Is it not possible that the architects themselves may give a lead in this direction and join with all the building and decorative trades in the organization of such a guild and the thinking out of such a training? Thus they would free our growing cities from the clutch of the speculative builder, by educating him out of existence and substituting for him a body of craftsmen trained in workshop tradition and civic outlook yet with wider vision. Why should not the present crisis in the building trade and stoppage in building be used for the discussion and consideration of such plans by the R.I.B.A., by the trade unions, and by the Arts and Crafts Society, which, I would suggest, might well take the lead in putting them forward for consideration?

It is true that for the craftsman to take his place as the man who can express the life and individuality of the city, and whom the city not only needs but wants to express it, we must modify the education not only of the craftsman but of the citizens at large. For the education of the three R's, which aimed at producing cheap clerks, we must substitute that of the three H's—Hand, Head, and Heart. But such an education of the citizen is already beginning at various points, notably, in the Boy Scout movement; and the war itself has done much, surely, to educate first those taking part in it, and in some measure all of us, to a realisation of larger issues and a truer life. We see more clearly that man does not live by bread alone. The materialism of the recent past is tending to disappear and to make way for the desire that all the sacrifice of blood and treasure shall end only in some real gain to humanity, some steps towards the setting up of the Kingdom of Heaven on earth. So that though we seem to be asking for great changes, yet we shall ask not in vain, for it is a time of awakening and of change. The old order has had a great shock in this war and all that it involves. If we know what we want and try as hard to get it as others will to reconstitute things as they were or to promote the setting up of the "servile state," we may yet be successful. But let us think out such a policy now and try to combine to work for it, a policy which should include in its scope, or perhaps as its larger part, though space does not permit more than its mention here, the regeneration

of the countryside no less than the nascent renewal of the city and its life, which the present exhibition of the Arts and Crafts Society so clearly portrays and so worthily represents.

SYBELLA BRANFORD.

## II.—WHAT THE CITY MIGHT DO FOR THE CRAFTSMAN.

What does our Arts and Crafts movement contribute to this problem of the city,—the orderly and beautiful city? Let us review the stages of our own development, and ask where we stand to-day in relation to the other great movement which is giving us new cities, city surveys, housing and town-planning schemes, garden cities.

Thirty years ago when the Society began, our problem was one of emancipation; we had to free the artist craftsman, give him his chance, make him independent of the trade and the factory. It was a hard fight, and we won it. The majority of the members of the Arts and Crafts Society who have gained distinction through its means have been freed from the trade. They have built up little workshops of their own, independent of the great factory system all around them.

Then came a second stage in the Society's development. The battle of the individual won, we found that what we wanted was a greater regard for tradition. Originality needed tempering to a knowledge of the past, individual freakishness chastening. We had to throw off *L'Art Nouveau*, and the "studiotic." We discovered that we were not merely ourselves, but that such value as we had was in the harmonious growth we revealed. And so a distinct quality or style was formed in which we all share. The present exhibition is evidence of a harmony in all our work, however much we may differ in the way we individually approach it. We realized Morris's dictum that our work in the arts was but a link in the golden chain we were handing down to a happier time. The battle of tradition was won, and we have reaped the fruits of it.

Then came the third stage in our development, and the experience of the war is now bringing it very sternly home to many of us. We are realizing the precarious life of the little workshops. They hang, each of them, on so slender a thread. We have discovered that the unit is not, as we thought thirty years ago, the individual craftsman; the unit is the workshop. The traditions of our little workshops, all we have learned of the past, or can hand down to the future may be waste, and thrown away, if we are unable to hold the workshop life together. The unit is not in ourselves, but in the body of skill, enthusiasm, invention, we can get and keep together. That is the third lesson, the one we are in process of learning. It is teaching us the need for co-operation, and organization in the crafts, the need for putting aside our own petty jealousies, the need for thinking out some way by which not only our own particular workshop, but all the workshops that compose the English Arts and Crafts movement shall have some measure of security within the greater orbit of national industry. The need appears now to be for some guild system,—the name does not matter,—by which all the workshops shall be co-ordinated, given stability, given consciousness of strength and purpose, so that they can bring their united force to bear upon the community life.

It is at this point we touch the wider issue of the city. The workshop once established, with its group of ready-handed workers, it begins to influence the city and the life in which it is set. In a great city like London there is room for hundreds of such workshops,—workshops such



as our members have established. All over England, in many English cities, in many country districts, there are now such workshops. There should be many more, for wherever they are they shine like lanterns in the night of mechanical industry.

To establish in the city a system of co-ordinated workshops such as many of us wish to see has its precedent. Every free city in the Middle Ages was governed by its guilds, and these guilds were merely the different workshops ordered according to their craft, skill, or mystery. The London Livery Companies are but the historic remnant of the workshops that once ruled mediæval London. We know that the coming of machinery and the factory system has cut us off from that past, and that we must not try to recreate it; but we know also,—thanks to the Arts and Crafts Society,—that the small workshop of standard and quality is a necessity. We know that it can do certain things the great factory cannot do, and that as soon as it starts competing with the great factory it is doomed to failure. The re-discovery of the small workshop, indeed, has been the great achievement of the Arts and Crafts movement, from the economic and ethical point of view.

What, then, is the city's duty towards us and the work we are trying to do? We are there for its adornment, its ennoblement, the expression of its higher life. It is through the craftsmen of the workshops that the city can realize its individuality and make it manifest to all. We are there to bring back to the city many of those humanities of which the Industrial Revolution has deprived it. The city should help in the co-ordination which is now before us. This third stage in our development is implicit in the city's own growth. There are many ways of helping. The city should relieve the artist-craftsmen of some at least of the burden of sale and distribution, so that he can concentrate yet more upon production.

To take this question of distribution. Why are there no municipal galleries and sales depôts? Why should the running of such things be left to tradesmen and shopkeepers who have to charge from 200 to 300 per cent. on the craftsman's work before it reaches the buyer? Here is a handicap a well-ordered city would remove. The city should give us free galleries where we could exhibit our productions, even as the Royal Academy has lent us its galleries for the present exhibition.

Or take another matter. Why is there no banking system,—say on the Raiffeisen plan,—by which our different co-ordinated workshops, guaranteeing each other's honesty, could borrow money to carry through their larger contracts? The English guilds had this in the Middle Ages,—witness the famous mason's deed of Richard II's reign. Why should industrial capitalism deprive us of this privilege? We must win it back again, it must be part of the new civic order.

Why is there no organ, no monthly or quarterly journal, through which we can talk to one another, and make our work known to the public? Why must we continue to be at the mercy of the so-called art publication that lives on the artists, cadging from them photographs and drawings, pitting one man against another, and never paying for the labour it steals? I conceive one of the greatest services the city could render to the Arts and Crafts is to print some such publication for them, free of cost, much as the London County Council has for many years now printed free of cost the publications of the London Survey Committee. If the city can do this for the honouring of its dead art, its ancient buildings and history, all the more might it do so for the living product.

Again; why is there no central record office where our various

endeavours may be publicly known?—no index or common address book, or house of call for our little workshops? Here again, it seems to me, is a city function. Ours is a great social experiment, an experiment that takes a thousand different forms, with ever fresh inventions and discovery. Just as London has its School of Economics, for the study and recording of social change in the great mechanical industry, so it should have its centre for us. There should be some sort of clearing-house for the Arts and Crafts so that those who do not themselves practice them should get to learn what is their significance in modern life. All these threads we have spun want drawing together, the city should find out, in its own interest, what the labour and experience of all of us during the last 25 years really means. The great industry can as little do without us as we can live without the great industry.

And last, why are we who can make the city beautiful not more consulted? Why are we not turned on to prepare the housing and rebuilding schemes, to decorate the schools? We can do these things better than the lawyer's clerks and surveyors, the minor borough officials, the plumbers and decorators to whom just now these tasks are allotted. The city should allow us to get to work. Does not our exhibition show how salutary it is for the painters to be dragged out of their Philistia of gilded frames? It shows, too, what an abundance of talent and experience there is, and how many men and women there are who should at least be heard before the city,—which is more theirs because they dream about it,—is changed for better or worse. Why are we not more consulted by those who rule the city? The answer is, because we are at present broken up, distributed, and ineffectual. We must get together. Co-ordination within the city follows as a necessary consequence of the three stages in our development I insisted on at the outset. The first was the individuality of the craftsman; the second was tradition; the third is the realization of the fact that the unit is not the individual, however distinguished, but the more impersonal workshop of which he is a part. All the workshops must now combine, and the city must stand by its workshops.

C. R. ASHBEY.

## REVIEWS.

## AFTER THE WAR.

TOWARDS INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT. By J. A. Hobson. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 2/6 net.

QUESTIONS OF WAR AND PEACE. By L. T. Hobhouse, D.Litt. Fisher Unwin. 3/6 net.

THE first of these books is an able plea for the international organisation of Europe as a means of preventing future wars. For this the author proposes a general league of the nations, with power to boycott, or, if need be, to use military force against any nation which resisted the decision of the international courts of arbitration or the legislative council—a new feature—which will have power to adapt old arrangements to changing circumstances. For this purpose he does not propose an international army. Each nation will retain its own military force, and contribute its quota to the joint army that is in the last resort to enforce the decrees that emanate from the organs of the Confederation representing the States of Europe or, it may be, of the civilized world. Some of the difficulties in the way of such an arrangement are very fairly met. To the objection that this use of force is not to end war, but to legalise it, he answers:—

"The degradation of war does not consist in the employment of physical force; it consists in employing a maximum of physical force where a minimum would suffice, and in employing it for purely national purposes of the equity and utility of which there is no disinterested guarantee. The evil of war is that its result or settlement has no assured relation to reason or justice."

He admits that the new organisation might be used to keep backward races "in a state of political serfdom, called by those who impose it 'good government,' in order that the natural and human resources of their country may be utilised for the good of a world to which they are outsiders." A still more fundamental doubt Mr. Hobson scarcely notices. Of what good is his elaborate machinery unless a spirit of fraternity unites the peoples, and the nations can regard each other with mutual trust? Probably Mr. Hobson believes that the experiences of the present time will provoke such a horror of war, such a fervent desire for peace, as will induce all to cultivate international goodwill and fellowship.

There remains, however, one thorny question on which Mr. Hobson and Professor Hobhouse differ widely. This does not concern the retention of nationality, for I think the former would endorse the latter's view as expressed in the concluding section of his *Questions of Peace and War*.

"The ideal of the future must be not cosmopolitan but international. It must not rest upon a destruction of that feeling of unity which internally is the best foundation of political order; and the spokesmen of our country were right in coupling the rights of nationality along with the maintenance of public law as the double object for which the Allies engaged in the present war."

The difference concerns the stages by which the new confederation may be reached. To Mr. Hobson it seems that nothing will be gained unless all

the warring powers join from the beginning. "The admission of Germany to membership of the league is a prime condition of its success." Otherwise we may have two hostile leagues of almost equal strength. Professor Hobhouse, in an illuminating account of the Holy Alliance of 1814, points out that though "the Alliance was, in the first place, brought together and held together by fear of France," it yet saved France from destruction and in the end admitted her to the council of the nations. He believes that just as "we have to work towards peace through nationality and not against it," so we may "have to work towards the unity of Europe through the group system and not over its head." He recognizes that there must be some real community of feeling behind every political union, and this is found among the divergent units which are co-operating for the maintenance of their liberties.

The account of the Holy Alliance, which is a most useful corrective to some vulgar errors on the subject, is in the concluding paper of Professor Hobhouse's volume. The two earlier ones are in the form of dialogues, and of these, the second, "The Hope of the World," is the more important. An Optimist, a Feminist, a mild old Quaker lady, a disillusioned progressive, an old individualist, a Prussianiser with a fervent love of discipline, and a neo-Christian Sister, talk at some length without reaching any nearer agreement than such people would be likely to attain in real life. Such sociological interest as the dialogue has is confined to the curious and most unsociological recantations of the disillusioned progressive, Pentire, who has apparently in the past sought a foundation for his humanitarian and democratic politics and his schemes of social reform in the more general propositions of historical sociology as put forward by Auguste Comte. In his analysis of the transition from the Liberal social reforms culminating in old age pensions to the German regimentation beginning with the Insurance Act, he is excellent; but when he treats the present war as a proof of the bankruptcy of historical sociology, he fails to take into account some of the principles on which the founders of the science have most insisted. I do not refer to an extraordinary identification of scientific law with mathematical formulæ, the lessening *precision* as you passed from mathematics to the more complex sciences having been a favourite and constantly recurring thesis of Comte; nor to a view of "law" which would discredit the law of gravitation, because some projectiles may be prevented from completing their course, or may go more slowly in a denser medium. I refer, rather, to the view put forward that, while up to a point in the nineteenth century the world had been moving in a particular direction, towards an age of scientific thought and peaceful activity, it has since reverted to an age of war, and therefore all sociological forecasts are discredited. Now this assumes what sociologists have always denied, that society moves in a straight line without divagations or interruptions. Perhaps if the human race had been confined to a small island, progress, though very slow, would have been thus uniform and continuous; but the whole history of the long transition from theocracy to the modern world, as recounted by Comte, has been the tracing of the narrow thread of progress as affected by the interplay of civilizations in different stages of development. Comte, indeed, foretold that when the general course of civilization was recognized, men would consciously combine to forward it, and the divagations would therefore be fewer and the unity of purpose greater; and having the misfortune, or good fortune, to be a reformer as well as a sociologist, he, like all reformers, expected this to come about sooner than it seems likely to do; but that in the meantime the course of

civilization is liable to these retardations is quite in accordance with his principles. The real excuse of the present discouragement is the belief, so long promoted in the University of Oxford, that Germany was not a retrograde, but a particularly enlightened nation; and as to this Comte had no illusions. If we compare the present divagation from that of the early years of the nineteenth century, we have every reason to congratulate ourselves. In 1813 we had been at war for twenty years. The present conflict is hardly likely to last as long. Then practically the whole civilized world was involved. Now many nations stand outside, including the great industrial ones of the New World. The state of war is far more recognized as abnormal. Above all, the centre of disturbance then was France, the home of the revolution and the centre of enlightenment. Now it is Germany, a country retrograde as a consequence of her situation and her whole history. Have we not ample cause for congratulation?

S. H. SWINNY.

### THE INDUSTRIAL SITUATION AFTER THE WAR.

UNDER this title the Garton Foundation has issued a memorandum of some eighty pages, which contains a great deal of interesting matter. The preface states that it is the work of a group of men representing widely different points of view but united in the conviction that the country is moving towards a crisis which may involve grave industrial conflicts and serious loss to both labour and capital, while affording an opportunity for placing our whole industrial life on a sounder basis. Ostensibly the memorandum covers all the factors of the situation. The reader has not gone very far, however, before he realizes that the authors have one fixed idea in their heads (and a very good one), and that, although they apparently cover the whole field, they scamper hastily over many sections, so great is their hurry to reach what they feel in advance to be the goal. This goal is the reduction of friction between employers and employed by raising the status of the worker and giving him a share in the control of industry. On these points the authors are so emphatic that it is evident they have been considerably impressed by the movement which, for convenience's sake, is loosely designated Syndicalism, but in other respects one misses the wide outlook. The greater part of the memorandum could have been written by a super-intelligent employer, sympathetic to labour in the sense of raising its status and dignity—willing even, as a means of avoiding further labour trouble, to give the workers some share in control—provided his profits were not interfered with.

According to our imaginary employer, after the war capital is to retain all its existing privileges, but as the community will have to raise a few hundred millions more per annum to meet interest and redemption of War Loans held by himself and fellow capitalists, it becomes eminently desirable that the profits from industry should be increased (*i.e.* our productivity augmented) which cannot be done until labour becomes more satisfied. Very little is said about increased wages, or upon the principle that labour should, as a right, receive a fixed proportion of the additional profits brought about by the joint control suggested; and even were this conceded, the fact that the results might be the employment of a certain number of men receiving good remuneration, but the unemployment of a large number of others, is not faced. Throughout the whole memorandum there is no recognition of the principle that the state or community is responsible for the well-being of each member of the community. The

necessity for an all-embracing scheme of insurance against unemployment with full remuneration and the establishment of a national minimum wage are not mentioned, and the attitude of the group responsible for the memorandum towards state or municipal ownership or control seems to be that of Manchester in the eighties. In one section it is admitted that adulterated food and impure milk are responsible for much mal-nutrition, but not a word is said of the obvious remedy—the municipalization of the milk supply. The treatment of transport is wholly inadequate. Transport and selling methods are grouped together and are dismissed in twelve lines, opening with the not very sensational discovery that "both transport and selling methods in this country are capable of improvement." The improvement in the relationship between employer and employed is of the utmost importance; but surely an improvement in our system of transport and our land-owning system is just as vital. The complete centralization and unification of the railway system is absolutely necessary if industry is not to be still more heavily burdened. Even the most individualistic manufacturers are coming to realize that there are one or two services like the Post Office, the provision and maintenance of roads, light, heat and power, and railways, which must be worked by the community itself for the good of all and not for the profit of a small section of shareholders. It has required a great European war to prove to the railway companies the large economies and more efficient working produced by a pooling of trucks—advantages one would have thought might have been obvious to an unbiased intelligent child of seven.

The memorandum, as a whole, is excellently written and leads up to its *dénouement* as inevitably as one of Mrs. Barclay's novels. The *dénouement*, however, is not so precise as in the novel, for, although he is to marry her all right in the end, details of how it is to be done are somewhat vague. There is to be a co-operation of labour, management, and capital, and the substitution of a species of partnership in the place of the present latent hostility. In its simplest form this co-operation is to exist in the shape of joint committees representing the management and the working staff. In the more highly organized trades there would be joint boards consisting of representatives of the employers' associations and the trade unions, but to what extent labour would be permitted to assist in the actual management, to determine what should be made, the price at which it should be sold, and what markets should be catered for and opened up, remains obscure.

In its most ambitious form, the supreme board of control would be a national industrial parliament for each of the staple industries. As a matter of fact, schemes of this nature are already in operation on the French state railway system and in certain Swiss municipal undertakings; and the Railway Nationalization Society in its bill, backed by Conservative, Liberal, and Labour members, some years ago worked out a scheme for the control of the future state railway system in this country which would be managed by a council consisting of representatives nominated by local authorities, chambers of commerce, chambers of agriculture and the trade unions.

In my opinion, the conclusions of the Memorandum are not quite adequate to the immense amount of well-written matter which it contains, but it is an interesting piece of work, and it is encouraging to find that there are so many committees—some officially and others self-appointed—at work considering the future; and certainly among the problems that will confront us after the war, not the least is that of the relationship between our big industrialists and their workers.

EMMA DAVIES.



## WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

WOMEN IN MODERN INDUSTRY. By B. L. Hutchins. George Bell & Sons.  
4/6 net.

AMONG the many able minds that are concerning themselves with the economic position of women none is better informed and better balanced than that of Miss Hutchins. This book, tracing the evolution of women as an industrial worker from primitive times through mediævalism and the industrial revolution up to the present day, is particularly opportune. For, among the grave and difficult problems confronting us after the war the new situation of woman, political, industrial and social, must claim close attention. It is particularly important that those who handle it shall bring to it not a merely open mind but one equipped with knowledge of historical fact and tendency. Miss Hutchins supplies this knowledge in a series of chapters ample in matter and interpretation as they approach the present time, and presenting a very thorough exposition and criticism of the actual position of women workers in Great Britain (with glances at other countries) in 1914. A concluding chapter discusses some of the disturbing effects of the first year of the war and the beginnings of the great influx of women's labour into various employments hitherto exclusively male. Mr. Mallon contributes a closely-packed chapter dealing with the livings of women in the various occupations, as disclosed by the wage census of 1906, and discussing the causes of the lower pay which women usually receive for work involving equal skill, toil, and ability, with that of men. Miss Hutchins shows the important part which machinery has played in enlarging the number of industrial occupations for men, and takes a favourable view in general of the effect of the organized factory upon the status, pay, and legal economic position of woman. She holds, however, that in recent years the improvement of the factory worker has been very slow. Her day is still unduly long, and the strain of work upon the whole has been intensified. The protection of the law is still exceedingly defective, especially with regard to certain hygienic conditions, such as atmosphere and lighting, while the policy of the Truck Act is rendered inoperative by permitted fines and deductions. Timidity and procrastination alike in legislation and administration are the chief faults of our well-meant social legislation. There is ample ground for the severe judgment passed by Miss Hutchins when she affirms that "This weakness and backwardness in the policy of the Home Department is, no doubt, largely due to the covetousness of the capitalist and the control he is able to exercise in politics."

Effective trade union organization of women is a prime need, and the account given here of the obstacles presented, partly by the objective conditions of women's occupations, partly by the feelings and habits of working women, partly by the unsympathetic or hostile attitude of men, is a depressing story. But Miss Hutchins gives reasons for believing that the experience of war-time, extending the demand for women's services, opening many shut doors, raising their wages, and establishing new habits of social-economic independence, will be fruitful afterwards in a more efficient co-operation for maintaining the positions temporarily secured and for building up permanent improvements in pay and other conditions. Upon the controverted issues of sex delimitation of industries, equal pay for men and women, and need for special protective legislation for women, Miss Hutchins states the pros and cons with force and fairness, inclining herself to a moderate judgment.

J. A. H.

## DR. TROTTER ON THE HERD INSTINCT. 3/6 net.

INSTINCTS OF THE HERD IN WAR AND PEACE. By W. Trotter. Fisher Unwin. UNTIL Dr. Trotter's book was published, in the spring, the Sociological Society constantly received enquiries for the two articles which form its nucleus. They appeared in the SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW in 1908 and 1909; and they are even more striking now than they were then.

Their main argument is, that gregariousness, like multicellularity at a lower level in the biological scale, is one of Nature's great devices for securing progress by preventing individuals who display different sorts of originality from falling a prey to natural selection. He shows, however, that it is not serving its purpose in the present era of the life history of the race, because it is entirely suitable only to those primitive times when the need for certitude was extremely pressing. It prescribes opinions and practices from which no member of the herd must depart. The individual's own observations may prove them to be absurd; but he maintains them, nevertheless, because if he did not his conscience, or sense of solidarity with his fellows, would give him direful pricks, and he would feel as if he had thrust himself into outer darkness.

To the mind that is at home within the herd circle of ideas, Dr. Trotter gives the name "stable," while the mind that is more sensitive to experience than to herd suggestion he calls "unstable"; and he contends that much of the unrest of the day is due to the increase of the latter. He defends the doubters against the self-confident, prosperous, official conservatives and the dull, relatively unintelligent personalities that appear to constitute the Freudian ideal of normality, and pleads, much as Lester Ward used to do, for more social generosity for them which would place their uncommon abilities at the service of society as a whole. Not that he would like suggestibility to be bred out of the human stock. If it were, he warns us, "we should exchange the manageable unreason of man for the inhuman rationality of the tiger." What he does desire is, that the force of suggestion should come to act on the side of learning at first-hand.

"If rationality were once to become really respectable, and we feared the entertaining of an unverifiable opinion with the warmth with which we fear using the wrong implement at the dinner table, if the thought of holding a prejudice disgusted us as does a foul disease, then the dangers of man's suggestibility would be turned into advantages." He doubts, indeed, whether men will not perish like the "dragons of the prime" if they do not adopt the disposition of the rebels against convention to appreciate evidence instead of indulging in

"unclouded faith in the essentially respectful attitude of the universe towards their moral code, and a belief no less firm that their traditions and laws and institutions necessarily contain permanent qualities of reality."

He insists, again as Lester Ward did, on the necessity of popularizing knowledge and widening sympathy, or, as he terms the movement, "inter-communication" between all sorts and conditions of people, if progressive evolution is to be continued. Dr. Trotter distinguishes three kinds of gregariousness—the aggressive, the protective and the socialized, respectively typified by the wolf, the sheep, and the bee—from the characteristics of which he demonstrates that this comprehensive liberalism and altruism will culminate, if it is purposively directed towards that goal, in a splendid, universalized pacifism. "A transcendental union with his fellows is the destiny of the human individual."

M. B. R.

## PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

## FRENCH.

Of the periodicals that the Society has been accustomed to receive from France only three are now being issued—the *REVUE INTERNATIONALE DE SOCIOLOGIE*, the *REVUE DE MÉTAPHYSIQUE ET DE MORALE*, and the *BULLETIN DE LA STATISTIQUE GÉNÉRALE DE LA FRANCE*.

In the first the discussions of the Paris Sociological Society are reported as usual. They all relate, this year, to Austria-Hungary. There is an appreciation of Maxime Kovalevsky in the May and of Emile Waxweiler in the August-September issue. To the master who taught King Albert how to make social surveys and bring science to bear on governmental problems, M. René Worms tells us, the task of apportioning the war indemnities was to have been entrusted. It could not have been placed in better hands; and sociologists who wish to make their science effective in public affairs would do well to trace the steps by which he qualified himself for such work. The main characteristics of his system of thought are well defined in the notice. Judging past institutions by present ones, without troubling himself much about social origins, he paid more attention to the functions than the forms of society, and thus reversed the position taken up by the Durkheim school; and the success that the professors of the Solvay Institute achieved as advisers to business men fully justified his method. As for the "impenitent liberal" who lectured at Oxford in 1888, devoted twenty-eight years at Beaulieu to his works on democracy and pre-industrial economy, served in the first Russian Duma and the Council of Empire, and founded a popular university at Petrograd, he died, we are told, with the admonition "Love liberty, love equality, love humanity" on his lips. An article in the March number on the French universities in war time will give English readers many a hint as to the defects and prospects of the higher education in their own country; and some lively letters from Gobineau to M. Adolphe Franck in the August-September issue, together with some discussion of his relations to de Tocqueville in the April number, will make them like the shallow-minded racist even while they despise him.

The philosophers who write for the *REVUE DE MÉTAPHYSIQUE ET DE MORALE* had the courage, in the early part of the year, to publish a special number on Malebranche, with a section of thirteen pages pleading for a new and complete edition of his works. The contributors treat him as an original thinker and not as a disciple of Descartes. The ordinary number which accompanies this one contains three essays that should fascinate the sociologist. In *Les sciences et les systèmes philosophiques* M. E. Meyerson disputes the possibility of obeying the Comtist command to eschew metaphysics; and in *Le déterminisme historique* M. Lanson discusses Montaigne's "Spirit of the Laws" as a guide to the reconciliation of progress and tradition, of rulers and people. In *Art et métaphysique* M. E. Wilson puts art into the same psychological category as love and religion, because it re-arranges the elements of one's mind, makes them grow and creates new personalities out of them, sometimes against one's will, whereas

science at the surface and metaphysics at the heart of reality are conservative and unprogressive in their action on the mind.

The spring number of *LES ANNALES DES NATIONALITÉS* contains some useful warnings against Russian autocracy as it affects the Jews, Poles, Finns, and other small nations, and sketches of the enquiry work that is to be carried out by the permanent Commission of Nationalities which was founded at the great Conference at Paris in July last year. At the end there are notes on the particular needs and claims of various European peoples. This journal is brought out by the *Union des Nationalités*, of which Sir John Macdonell is the British patron.

#### ENGLISH AND AMERICAN.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY is well maintaining its reputation as a scientific review the writers of which do not disdain to make their learning exoteric. "The Principle of Anticipation" and "The Organization of Effort" are two articles of outstanding merit which Dr. E. A. Ross contributes to the March and July numbers respectively. In the former he marks out the distinction of the deep from the shallow thinker on social affairs. It consists, he says, not in the habit of appreciating eventual as well as immediate effects, but in that of interpreting actions, on the part of both individuals and groups, as manifestations of a policy; and he goes on to show how various policies work out in relation to crime, government, individual friendships and enmities, charity, education, law and religion. In the paper on organization he emphasizes the necessity of giving plenty of freedom for self-expression to the workers in a community that is highly organized on industrial and business lines. His concluding sentence constitutes a good criticism of civilization of the German type: "That unity in moral and religious ideas and in ground pattern of life which has sometimes worked out quite well among a peasant or fisher folk is an utterly impossible and undesirable ideal for a people subject to the trying discipline of modern organization." Dr. Ross's paper is followed by one entitled "Social Devices for compelling Women to bear and rear Children," by "Leta S. Hollingworth," which exhibits much independence of thought and moral courage. "The Mind of the Citizen," by Professor Arland D. Weeks, and "Culture and Environment," by Dr. A. A. Goldweiser, in the March number will also interest students of sociology. Professor Weeks maintains that as an influence on culture the physical environment is negligible. "In two of its fundamental aspects, that of invention and that of imitation, culture is independent of environment; and every culture is largely independent of its environment in so far as it is a historical complex." Dr. Goldweiser writes as a vocationalist who wants teachers and employers "to align occupations with the currents of nerve forces." The May number is devoted to a review, by Dr. Albion Small, of the study of sociology in the United States during the last fifty years. It is an admirable record of progress and study of method, and has a pleasant autobiographical interest. It is to be followed by a treatise on "The Sociological Categories."

THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ETHICS, of late, has been strong in the province of internationalism and of sex morality. To take one sample from each department, Professor Orth, in a paper on "Law and Force in International Relations" in the April number, writes: "Anything that tends to create artificial distinctions between nations retards the development of international law and stimulates that sentimentalism and impulsiveness

which leads to force"; and in an article in the July number on "Marriage and the Population Question," which displays both wisdom and foolishness, Mr. Bertrand Russell says: "A man and woman with reverence for the spirit of life in each other, with an equal sense of their own unimportance beside the whole life of man, may become comrades without interference with liberty, and may achieve the union of instinct without doing violence to the life of mind and spirit." An article on "The Formulas for State Action" contributed to the April number by Professor A. K. Rogers, cleverly defines the sphere within which the individual is entitled to unlimited freedom.

The ROUND TABLE takes a foremost place in the world of periodical literature by reason of the great value of the information which it furnishes and of the morality of self-control and of duty which it inculcates. The articles in No. 22, other than the usual colonial ones, concern "The War for Public Right," "Production in Peace and War," "The Problem of Women in Industry," and "America's Reaction to the War." The third recommends a labour policy in common as the best means of promoting the interests of both men and women workers. The second advocates two remedies for the economic troubles which will probably result from the war—increased production for meeting the high interest which will have to be paid on capital, and "a greater sense of the community within our whole body politic and economic" which will make a dog-in-the-manger spirit impossible on the part of either employers or labourers.

#### ITALIAN PERIODICALS RECEIVED.

RIVISTA ITALIANA DI SOCIOLOGIA (January—August); RIVISTA INTERNAZIONALE DI SCIENZE SOCIALI E DISCIPLINE AUSILIARIE (January, February, July, August); DIZIONARIO DI LEGISLAZIONE SOCIALE (January—June).

## BOOKS RECEIVED.

- Bloomfield, Meyer and Willits, Joseph H. "Personnel and Employment Problems in Industrial Management." American Academy of Political and Social Science. \$1.00.
- King, Clyde Lyndon. "National Industries and the Federal Government." American Academy of Political and Social Science. 2 Vols., \$1.00 each.
- King, Clyde L. "Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Index. Supplement to the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science." \$1.00.
- Hanna, W. J. "Report of the Ontario Commission on Unemployment." Toronto: A. T. Wilgress.
- Smith-Gordon, Lionel. "Co-operation in Finland." Williams & Norgate. 5/- net.
- Willits, Joseph H., A.M. "Steadying Employment." American Academy of Political and Social Science. \$1.00.
- Wolman, Leo, Ph.D. "The Boycott in American Trade Unions." Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.
- Suhrie, Ambrose L. "New Possibilities in Education." American Academy of Political and Social Science. \$1.00.
- McNeill, F. M., and Wakefield, F. J. "An Enquiry in Ten Towns in England and Wales into Subjects connected with Public Morality." Association for Moral and Social Hygiene.
- Rowe, L. S. "Preparedness and America's International Program." American Academy of Political and Social Science. \$1.00.
- Drake, Edward. "The Universal Mind and the Great War." C. W. Daniel. 2/6 net.
- Crennan, C. H. "Public Administration and Partisan Politics." American Academy of Political and Social Science. \$1.00.
- Rogers, Lindsay, Ph.D., LL.B. "The Postal Power of Congress." Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.
- Bristol, Lucius Moody, Ph.D. "Social Adaptation." Oxford University Press. 8/6 net.
- Dunlop, D. N., A.I.E.E. "British Destiny: the Principles of Progress." Path Publishing Co. 3/6 net.
- Adams, Arthur B., A.M. "Marketing Perishable Farm Products." P. S. King & Son. \$1.50.
- Chin Chu, Ph.D. "The Tariff Problem in China." P. S. King & Son. \$1.50.
- Mann, Harold H., D.Sc. "The Mahars in a Deccan Village." Bombay: Social Service League.
- Parmelee, Maurice, Ph.D. "Poverty and Social Progress." Macmillan. 7/6 net.
- Paynter, George Henry. "The Child in Human Progress." Putnam. \$2.50 net.
- Towne, Ezra Thayer, Ph.D. "Social Problems: a Study of Present-day Social Conditions." Macmillan. 4/6 net.



# THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOL. IX.

SPRING, 1917.

CHARLES BOOTH.

By the death of the Rt. Hon. Charles Booth on November 23 last, the Sociological Society lost one of its most distinguished members. Born at Liverpool in 1840, he took an active part with his brother Alfred in building up great industrial organizations on sea and land, in England, in China, in South America and in the United States. But he did not allow his success in business to narrow his sympathies; he devoted a large part of his time to an investigation into the lives of his less fortunate or less able fellow-citizens with a view to ameliorating their lot; and it is to this that he owed his fame as a Sociologist.

For some generations, the importance of statistics—of definite numerical data—had been recognized; and as the store of recorded figures grew so did the hopes of social investigators. But result did not equal anticipation. A knowledge of quantity was of little use without a knowledge of quality. It was, e.g., not very instructive to know that there were a million peasant proprietors in a country unless the situation of those peasants in other respects was known. Lord Beaconsfield triumphantly proved from the Census that there had been no decay of English yeomen, because there were as many freeholders in Buckinghamshire in his time as in Hampden's, disregarding the fact that the freeholders of the nineteenth century were not farmers, but largely villa residents from London. What wonder if the cynic remarked that you could prove anything by statistics! But already, in the middle of the nineteenth century, the genius of Le Play had proposed a new method to obviate this danger. He combined the description of typical instances with collective enumeration, and made the dry bones of statistics live. In his *Tableau*, published in 1851, he ranged throughout the countries of Europe, selecting his proletary families in each, and giving full and vivid details of their life and work. I do not know how far Charles Booth consciously followed the plan of Le Play, but no one has applied that method so consistently and on so vast a scale. Taking practically the whole of London, he investigated it district by district and almost street by street, at once covering the whole immense field and yet introducing us to a series of pictures of family life—at once accurate in detail and yet rich in human interest. Enlightened by these, the reader could turn to his wonderful map, with its black streets of crime, its dark and light blue of varying degrees of poverty, and

so on through the varied colours that denoted the unskilled labourer of steady but insufficient wages, the artizan, the comfortable, the wealthy, with all their intermediate shades, and have before him a bird's eye view of the economic life of London.

Of this great work, "Life and Labour of the People of London," the first section, "Poverty," was published in 1891, and the second, "Industry," in 1897. These were followed, in 1903, by "The Religious Influences of London," each of the three consisting of several volumes. In the course of his investigations, Charles Booth lived for a time in the East End in the family of a workman, and he had the capacity to gather around him a band of skilful helpers and inspire them with his own spirit. He was not afflicted with the narrow Puritanism or the disinclination to look facts in the face, so common among social workers. It was noticeable that his account of the religious life of London made an even more gloomy impression than the statistics of attendances at church collected by the *Daily News*. The latter were bad enough, but in Booth you got not only the poor result, but the immense pains, the self-denial, the devotion, the hope and endeavour of clergy and workers which had so little reward. Nor must it be forgotten, in estimating the work of Booth, that it was the example of his method—tried on so vast and difficult a scale—that encouraged so many others to apply it, as, for instance, in Mr. Seebohm Rowntree's survey of York, and Mr. Freeman's study of Boy Life in Birmingham.

I am not sure that Charles Booth was not somewhat lacking in the historical spirit; but, on the other hand, he was not influenced by any idle or pedantic curiosity. Behind his careful survey was the burning desire to promote the happiness of the poor and the suffering. Passing his early life amid homely surroundings, in modest sufficiency rather than luxury, he was more impressed by the instability than by the hardship of a life of poverty. For a man to live with only his week's wages between his family and destitution, seemed to him the greatest of all miseries. It was this that made him in his latter years incline to Tariff Reform, as a possible means of regulating the fluctuations of trade. But it also impelled him to his crusade in favour of Old Age Pensions, the provision of an assured future for those who had passed their lives in toil. On this subject he issued: (1) "Pauperism: a Picture of the Endowment of Old Age" (1892); (2) "The Condition of the Aged Poor" (1894); and (3) "Old Age Pensions" (1899). In his original scheme, the pensions were to be given to all. Even as ultimately carried out, though confined to those whose incomes fell below a certain amount, the previous economic position of the recipients (save that for a time paupers were excluded) was neglected. There was, therefore, no creation of a servile class. It

is probable that few reforms have produced so much happiness and so little evil.

Near the close of his life, in 1913, he issued a vigorous pamphlet, "Industrial Unrest and Trade Union Policy," in which he suggested that the trade unions should become judges, and not only penalize the bad masters, but give the good ones their countenance and support. It was, I think, in the same year that, at the house of the late Professor Beesly, I met Charles Booth for the last time. I was struck by his intellectual vigour and alertness. He propounded this question to me:—Are the workers or the rich the happier. I answered that, in my opinion, the workers were happier in youth, the rich in maturity and old age. He at once agreed, but when we came to draw the line of demarcation, differences arose. I thought the scale turned, when the workman found himself involved in the care of a family; Booth was inclined to think the workman the better off till about forty, when he would find his strength less equal to his task, just as his richer fellow-citizen was arriving at a position of power and dignity—whether in business or public life. It was a most stimulating discussion, and a farewell not unhappy.

S. H. SWINNY.



## EDUCATION OF AN IMPERIAL RACE TO-MORROW.

## I.

BRITAIN has flung her net so wide, she has become so great a colonist and enrolled so many races under her flag that the mind reels to think of her powers and her responsibilities, and realizes that the future is dark or bright according to the measure of understanding and sympathy which she may bring to her work and mission. The word Democracy, long used, has had a small content hitherto. It is a dream, it is a symbol. The reality belongs to the future, not to yesterday. We have to create democracy: that, it would seem, is our mission after the war.

Can this be done in our common schools of yesterday. I do not see how it is possible. "Man, even at his best, creates nothing alone," said Sequin, and our common schools failed largely (in spite of the wonderful success of many individual teachers and schools) because they left so much out of their reckoning, because they trusted to the home (even where home in any real sense did not exist), to the Church, to society, to politicians even instead of grappling with all the problem of environment and nurture as that of their own concern. Leaving so much out of account, they courted failure; in some cases there was failure almost complete. We cannot doubt this, for the evidence meets and arrests us on every hand. But the most striking official testimony was given by Sir George Newman, who, in his last Annual Report, states that over a million children cannot profit at all from the education offered to them in the nation's schools.

They cannot profit from learning to read, write, reckon, draw, etc. It was demonstrated at Deptford Health Centre that not one of the poorest class of children can derive any better health from even the best kind of physical training or drill. The nervous system, developed as it is out of older and lowlier physical structures, resists any attempt on our part to build on weak and shifting foundation. The half-starved child was not improved by the same exercises which worked a great and happy change in the body of the well cared for, well-fed child of the higher artisan class. Again and again we sent the poorest to have massage, to have spinal treatment, and breathing drill. The teacher got no results. The doctors were discouraged. At last it was resolved to send no poor, under-fed children into the remedial drill clinic, save those who could be fed in camp and live the camp life. These

last made good recoveries; in fact, some of these were the best products of the Health Centres. It is for this reason that I am anxious to write something about the camps and their methods.

Through the Camp School we have tried, first of all, to create an annexe of the home, and in doing so to begin at least the transformation or gradual education of neighbourhoods. The neighbourhood itself, with its littered paper, dirty drains, stained walls and grimy bye-lanes, testifies that something has gone wrong. The child, with his curved spine and pale face, completes this suggestion very forcibly. Yet we do not wish to part child and home, or even child and neighbourhood, for human beings have roots as well as plants, and all their life depends on this rooted life. The child loves his parents and his home, and cannot be parted from them without great loss. So it would seem natural to open a semi-residential school at his door and let him work and learn by making it into something he will love soon. Only this will be a new kind of love, and will throw a light around much that was once dark to him. He will not care less for the littered street, but he will want to change it.

While he is yet a very little child, even an infant we suggest he may be brought into a big garden ground overlooked by the windows of many mothers and open to them at all hours, where in large shelters or in summer, on the grass or paths, he will begin to use his limbs and hands and eyes freely, and grow straight in body and rich in memories that will soon be subconscious, but which will make the *hæmus* and under soil of all his later, conscious life. At the risk of being thought very tedious we must insist on the importance of space to little children, and repeat that for them, though not for us, the consciousness of muscular movement and sensory experience of even the *crudest* kinds not only make up the greater part of conscious life, but are themselves the conditions of all the higher life that is to follow. How hard it is to convince the indoor-trained nurse of this fact. How she inclines to keep the little creatures good and quiet in chairs. The chairs are chains. Even the routine is often deadening. We must clear spaces all over our cities and put up large but simple structures, which can be easily warmed, but are planned so that, even in severe weather, no stagnant air can reach and paralyze our young shoots of humanity, and no one need say to them in vivid moments, "Keep still."

War, that terrible revealer, has shown us how to do it. When women began to crowd into the munition factories it became clear that the day of tiny crèches was over. In one area—Deptford—there are at least ninety applications for entrance into a crèche and nursery school every week, yet there is not in the neighbourhood a single house furnished with a bath, nor are there houses of any

kind nor even rooms available for nurseries. It is no use knocking at house doors then. We have to go out and take the surging tide of little humans with us. In the shelters and open space behind a street of small houses there is room for about one hundred children. The Board of Education is about to give a building grant for the extension of the Baby Camp premises. With four large shelters or even three, and with a garden it is possible to give a natural environment to more than a hundred children under seven, possibly have a still, sunny place for sleeping infants, a wide, bare floor for toddlers, a play and work shed for three and four year olds, and a first school for children over four or five.

Everything depends, of course, on the staff. To understand the very contrasted needs of young children in the first two years, the infants so still and helpless, the toddlers so riotous and active, and the rapidly developing and changing powers too of the older nursery children, a special training will have to be undergone. Then the hygiene of the open is a new thing. It is concerned with the care of the garden, the drains, the paths, the weather. All this is new to the present generation of trained nurses. They have not had to busy themselves with outdoor drainage, with the observation of the wind, the adoption of means to meet extremes of heat and cold, the changing of position and employment in reference to the state of weather and time of day. Outside one lives in a state of vigilance that is new to the modern woman, and one's pleasures and cares are strangely unlike those of the modern housewife. I did not know all this at first, but every day proves it. Even the intelligent and brave are shocked at first. It is a new life to them. It makes new demands on their intelligence. The ordinary woman is strangely asleep to changes of wind and sun and rain, though she talks of weather. Out in the open she learns a new code of rules! She learns rapidly like a person who has forgotten but is shown something she knew long, long ago. The children without exception almost embrace the open-air life, and take hold of all it offers, winning strength from it as mere infants and disappointing the fears of their elders. Not one child who entered the Baby Camp in early infancy has any trace of rickets. (More than 50 per cent. of all who enter at one year and older have rickets badly.) The seven babies who entered at the age of three weeks are at one year old the strongest children in camp. One child had seven fits on the day of entrance. In a week's time she ceased to have fits. Five children with rheumatic symptoms became well in a few weeks. All these things carry a message to us to which we can no longer turn deaf ears.

Now when the child is seven years old and has learned to speak, to read, to write, to draw, and use his hands in various kinds of work, when awakened by the natural stimuli of the open he has



become intelligent and charming, need we imprison him and change his mode of life and learning. In summer time—

When leaves are large and long  
It is full merrie in faire forest  
To hear the foules song.

In boyhood, as in babyhood, it is merry and it is re-assuring. Sunshine and grass, trees and the daises of leaf shadow all that takes away sorrow like the hand of a kind and calm mother. Let us fall to and get plans of wide and movable buildings with grass and trees near by. And begin the training of the teachers and nurses of to-morrow.

"The teachers! Must they begin *de novo*?" we may be asked. O no. Behind all great events there is infinite preparation. Inside the elementary schools of to-day there are at least a few (there may be more than a few) great naturalists. I have known at least two masters in Bradford alone who, if they had not been teaching children of the wool city would have risen high in the world of natural science. One *did* reach eminence in spite of all. His school, his allotment, his bit of garden were centres of new life to many starved minds. If only he could have got out! The whole framework of his life as an elementary teacher cut into the finest and best part of his original gift. The inspector and the code and the government—these all cut his life picture across and made it almost grotesque. It did not spoil or dim every bit of indicating colour and vision. I suggest that we try to make in future a man's or woman's gift the focus of his life work, so that he will teach every subject in the light of the thing he loves. After fourteen there must be at least *some* degree of specialization and keeping our children later. Our school system would have to include men and women who have specialized not only in natural history, but people who specialize in physical drill, in music, in history, in craftsmanship, in science and applied science. In order to make this possible (as well as to make the truth of it obvious to all) the leaving age has to be raised to sixteen. And in order to raise the age rapidly we have to come to some understanding with parents (living on bare subsistence wage) and who to-day send their children to earn money even before the age of fourteen. I submit that three things are necessary. First, we have to provide schools that will make attendance possible to children who are now obliged to earn money at fourteen—that is, semi-residential schools. Then, after the war, we shall have to fix a minimum wage for good work, so that when our girls and boys *produce* they will not at once become objects of hate and suspicion to armies of competing workmen. The unorganized labour that children have to do now does not help them later on. A boy from camp has gone to cut wrapping paper for a butcher. "I'm going

back to the Kindergarten," he said; "and besides that I'm not going to be a butcher." He is fourteen, very advanced for his age, strong and healthy. "But what am I to do?" he asks. A backward lad in the north asks the same question. "A'm learnin' nowt," he heavily observes, looking with half-wakened eyes into the future. One of these boys, or both, could do a great deal—build a house, for example, like the Yorkshire boys, who have put up four extra classrooms for themselves. In the field the former boy could do other things, even more important for the nation. And both could grow their own food, while taking advanced work with teachers. The State should help them to do this. It should relieve the poorer parents of the burden of maintenance, recouping itself later if necessary from the children's work. It need not pauperize. It need not even be generous. It should not waste vitality any longer.

We can keep a boy or girl at school and feed them for £12 a year. We can house, feed and educate for less than £15. And at the age of fifteen a boy or girl can contribute by foodstuff, if not in money, to their own maintenance. That is to say, as he grows older he becomes less of a charge on the rates, even though his education is carried on more or less by specialists. When he enters the labour world, at sixteen, he enters it not as a child or a novice, but is already a working asset and producer for the nation.

The third and last suggestion is that we make our educational system less insular and co-operate (to begin with) with all English-speaking races so that our skilled and educated youth can be distributed in the right way over the world. Instead of pining in a back street or accepting the driving force that holds him down to a blind alley job our science boys and girls may go into the higher schools and professions, where they can be made most useful. Our "delicate ones" (no longer delicate perhaps) can go out to the Colonies under the protection of a government that knows what they are fitted for. "Don't go on sending us rubbish," said the Canadians a hundred times to the Mother Country. "Send us some of your best." We ought to make them into "some of our best" *before* they go out. Then they would be assured of a welcome, and a career.

In effect, education should be a national, or rather an international thing. But it cannot become truly international till the splendid raw material of humans we possess in abundance is worked up into its latest and perfected quality. To do this is the function of the schools. And in order to do it well we must break the walls of our pedagogical methods, and get out into the open where every science was originally learned, every art originally practised, where true culture and religion was born—a national product like the sheen on a bird's wing and the beauty of the

lilies, and where after so many sorrows and losses and despairs, humanity will come to itself at last and understand how, finally, to have "compassion one on another" and extend the frontiers of human sympathy.

MARGARET McMILLAN.

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II.

A visit I paid to Miss Macmillan's Clinic and Camp at Deptford some years ago inspired me to enter the field of work among the children of the poor in very different parts of London, and I now see hundreds weekly, at infant welfare centres and schools for mothers, and also in the out-patient departments of two large hospitals. My observations thus extend from the expectant mother through the period of infancy up to the age of adolescence, and provide a fairly continuous survey of the most important stages of growth and development of child-life as a whole, if, unfortunately, not in regard to the individual throughout those stages.

It may seem a strange and shameful confession that I obtained medical and surgical degrees without ever seeing a naked baby, save, perhaps, my little brother in his bath: it may be less strange than significant of our preposterous methods of education—preposterous, I take it, means putting the cart before the horse. The study of children, which ought to be first and central in the objective field along with anatomy and physiology, gave place to the hospital, full of terminal stereotyped pathologies, the museum and the post-mortem room. All very necessary, but first things first, and it took me thirty years to find them. Last week, in a hospital, I met a young doctor who volunteered the statement that he did not know "the top from the bottom" of a baby: this last anecdote should absolve me from the charge of anecdote in this digression.

I had started on what I believe to be the right way, under the fine and stimulating guidance of Dr. Eric Pritchard, when I visited Deptford, so that I felt less unfit to try and put some of Miss Macmillan's ideas to the test in a clinic which I opened in a dense slum area in Islington, but I need not say that the scope and the quality of the work were not to be compared with hers; we had not the funds, nor the staff—nor the inspiring heart and brain. One at least got some benefit—myself: and this, chiefly from visits to the homes, so-called, which, apart from some of the psychological influences residing there, I should prefer to call dangerous shelters. What I "knew" before but what I did not understand was the inseparable relation of mother, child and home, that little universe, the larger whole to the level of which we must ascend before we can hope to understand any one of its component parts; the idea of the child in relation to mother and home gains a luminous

intelligibility for ever lacking in those speculations as to his nature and development in which he is treated as a separate entity, when, *e.g.*, he falls from time to time into some institutional net as a "case," or as a nut to be cracked. True, each child is unique, but the significance of that lies in the light it casts upon the common human, the universal element he enshrines. We must view the child as both epitaph and forecast, *i.e.*, to see him from a point beyond himself—as containing a seed or germ of something beyond his individual characteristics. All very trite if most of us did not think and chatter in terms of an "evolution" theory that looks back to some primitive and lowly condition without regard to the fact that it was the product of the universe and its microcosmic shrine. At any rate it is well to reverse the ordinary process of interpretation and to remember that the fragment is a fiction of abstraction, while truth lies in the totality, and this not only as "environment" but as potential within the individual.

So one was taught to shudder at the irony of the instructions one gave at the clinic—at most of one's prescriptions for a healthy life—when one discovered that the simplest essentials were lacking: space, air, water, food, quiet, sleep, warmth; that to give detailed directions for cooking was to perpetrate a cruel joke when there is no fire and the only utensil an old tomato tin. And all that sort of thing involves so much wrong and waste economically before it gets translated into wronged and wasted bodies and minds. Coal bought in pen'orths means £3 a ton, and so on, and resources that would provide a decent meal are frittered away in hand-to-mouth unwholesome "luxuries"; the separate fluctuating trickles of energy never merge to provide a working head or capital. And emphatically, it is not primarily due to the ignorance and indifference of the mothers, though there is ignorance, and a constant state of insecurity and of fluctuation of resources is bound to induce a fatalistic and apathetic attitude. Nothing has been so striking to my mind as the high general level of intelligence, courage and true inner refinement that these women exhibit, though they may not flaunt these attributes in the street: nothing is more humbling to one's system of labels (or libels). For it is a system based on a comfortable stupidity: when we are privileged to see, we find what we ought to expect if it be true that in the mother's love some ocean seems to break through the shallow vessel in which self-interest struggles with regard for others, as though the Infinite came welling through the limitations of individual human nature. What exalted virtue hardly produces in any other relation, the mere conditions of physiology seem to ensure between mother and child. Here we reach a law wider than humanity and come down upon the rock of sentient nature, to discern the elements of morality that are older than man. (This idea is Julia Wedgwood's). "In

maternal love we may see the mystery of life, and it may deliver to us life's secret," is one of Bergson's happy shots.

One aspect of this insurgent energy is the aptitude mothers exhibit for the art that should rightly blossom out of their great function; a few touches, a little direction reveals to them their power and then the majority become insatiable virtuosi. So comes a great transformation, as the struggle for existence passes into its culture, and from another Manger radiates the Light of the World. The work, toilsome and anxious as it will never cease to be, then comes to bear the hall-mark of creative art in the joy distilled from care and pain in the pursuit of an ideal. Here is an instance that the truth of art is not a copy of reality, but is creative of the only reality, viz., personality. Complementary to this experience was that gained at other centres for infant consultations and for training in mothercraft, notably at one in a densely crowded area near the Docks. One feature of the work is the provision of dinners for expectant and nursing mothers, and the test for admission is the inability to secure adequate nourishment: around this original purpose, the various other functions of a welfare school are organized, and here again we see the heart and brain of a good woman animating and knitting together the workers and their guests, the centre with the homes. A new spirit of hope and self-respect has been born and has risen on the foundations of a better material order of life and of social intercourse.

On the evidence of the out-patient departments at the hospitals I need not dwell; our civilization would have to place its case in the hands of the *advocatus diaboli* to win a verdict on that. But in focussing the mischief, we get some measure of its quantity and of its nature, and we can trace back its multifarious aspects to defaults in the primary conditions of life centring in the home, with all their physical, mental and moral results. I think Miss Macmillan has truly diagnosed the morbid sequence, and my experience would confirm her statement of the dominance of the nervous element in diseases of the early school age. May we not find hope in the fact that patient endurance of evil is the very condition, by the storage of force, for effective action: under a stern and cruel rule is learnt the power of submission, a power that under a new faith is ready to renew the world.

One then began to think of a way that would bring the regenerating forces to bear more directly on the conditions of the home, and here, again, Miss Macmillan has seen, and she has forestalled me. I shall state very briefly the outlines of a plan I had hoped, and still hope, to try and execute. You will picture a solid block of industrial, so-called "model," dwellings, say in the region of the Docks, or, better, pay a visit and make a survey of all the radical defaults they exhibit as the nursery of an imperial race. Here our



people have large families, and that which should be first is the last consideration observed in the provision made. We need to provide the elasticity of more space denied in the cut and dried exiguity—and, in other respects, we need to supplement the defaults which breed defaults in a vicious circle. Would it not be possible to view such a block of living freight as a community, waiting for the touch that would organize its vital needs and interests and resources,—to pool them so that in some measure the whole would be available for each. We want to transform chaos into cosmos, and must start with a centre of energy to which all shall have a common relation of centripetal—centrifugal movement. Such a heart-centre would be organically related to the vital needs of the community, rooted in them (*vis a tergo*), and, at the same time, it would present an ideal standing beyond and above the actual achieved (*vis a fronte*), while the highest freest spirits of the community would be the necessary mediator or conductor between these poles, and thus we should get the conditions of growth and development. Translating into formal detail, we should take a set or two of rooms in the block which would be capable of some adaptation to the several functions to be exercised and now unprovided. Possibly, where ground is available, an annexe or extension accommodation would be desirable. These arrangements would give us:

1. The necessary extension of more space which would be common to all the dwellings. Here would be a parlour for the mothers and odd women, which, by its rest and change, would reanimate and sweeten the toilsome associations of the private dwelling. I need not stay to catalogue the various opportunities it would afford for recreation in more than the way of mere relief from *res angusta domi* the claustrophobia. And I would not force the side of extraneous ministrations of an "instructive" kind—they would grow from within—but the parlour must be simply "nice" and attractive to the best of their powers of response.

2. A day nursery, with a nurse of the right sort, with the aim of handing over her duties to one of the community when it discovers itself.

3. If possible there should be a playground for the "toddlers" in the curtilage or on the roof; I know of buildings where the latter arrangement would be feasible. There should also be a picture-book library.

4. A bathroom.

5. A co-operative kitchen and store-room, including coal and wood and milk. If, at first, a common dining-room (for which the parlour should serve) be too great an adventure, a good substantial course could be provided for consumption in the private rooms, as in the case of the "Graphic" dinners. A wholesome meat,



vegetable and barley broth should be available for the children. For ordinary groceries, coal, etc., the community might be a member of C.W.S. Possibly, at the outset, the enterprize should begin tentatively with nucleus grocery, coal, and boot clubs until the community came to consciousness.

6. To this end the mother's parlour would be the first step, and this as something they could regard as their very own: not a club-room nor a place for "improving" lectures, etc. Any extension of its functions must follow their initiative, though a lead might be given by suggestion. It would be essential to associate the more intelligent and capable mothers with its initiation and its control and direction. And though there would be skilled and sympathetic supervision and initiative, this would work in consultation with the mothers and be at their service, while the unity, the consciousness and will were dawning to power, and there would be a gradual devolution of responsibility. Everything should be done by their consent, acting on their needs and prejudices. Their experience of our welfare centres has prepared the way; there is no doubt of their hearty appreciation of the benefits they get there and the idea of "one of their own" on the domestic side would catch on. For these reasons I would not include the medical side of the Welfare centre in the scheme, for, even in the best hands, it involves the intrusion of a more or less arbitrary authority which would colour the rest, the essential parts of the scheme. Briefly, I would provide the opportunity ("open a door") for a self-managing co-operative effort to secure the primary physical needs and the equally vital mental and moral needs that centre in the home and can be satisfied only there. The energy at disposal is the vast ocean of maternal love in relation to the imperative appeal of child-life which, if it appear as a "grain of mustard seed," is equally potent to remove mountains; here we have the hunger and the love, that, rightly liberated and directed, will solve many of our pressing problems and will redeem our world,—if we will the means, by organization of the corporate will. I have but barely indicated the first tentative steps: supplements and modifications can be provided: e.g., kindergarten and carpenter's shop. The nurse could attend to the common minor ailments (under advice) of ears, eyes, skin, etc., and teach the children how to clean their teeth. (And, though this is beyond the scope of the scheme, no single practicable measure would surpass in manifold benefits the provision of skilled dental aid for the mothers.) A mother's home-helper might be a valuable addition to the small staff, to render domestic service in case of illness. My main point is, briefly, that under modern conditions of industrial urbanization we are cutting away the resources of the home and its amenities in all ways that reflect disastrously on its main

function. Apart from the physical defaults imposed, or vital necessities subtracted, we cut at the root of a vigorous and seemly home life by the demand on women's labour outside the home, and, so far, any return in increased resources (by wages) is more than balanced by the inability to employ these with advantage. We have a riot of disorganization and of exploitation of the weakest and most precious elements of the national life. Short of a complete re-orientation of our efforts in a policy of housing—which should be “homing,”—a way out is open to us, in some scheme of co-operation and mutual service, inspired by faith in the sacredness and the incalculable value of the fundamental unity of the home, the mother and the child.

We talk of an “Imperial Race”: we compass land and sea, and all the while the secret, the promise and the potency, lies in the Home.

ERNEST ROBERTS.



## WAR AND CRIMINALITY.

In studying criminal statistics as the barometer of national morality it is necessary to guard ourselves against accepting the figures as revealing the whole case, and we must look elsewhere to correct many first impressions which would otherwise be misleading. To begin with the children, the Home Office has been at great pains to make a study of their case in seventeen of the largest towns in the United Kingdom. The result is remarkable and startling. It proves that in all these towns there had been an increase of criminality amongst children since the war to the extent of fifty per cent. in larceny, and some thirty per cent. in other offences, such as assaults, wilful damage and gambling. There is no evidence that children in country districts have shown similar deterioration, and it is interesting to note that in Leicester there has been no increase, and in Bradford there has actually been a decrease, of juvenile offences during the war. Mr. Charles Russell, the Chief Inspector of reformatory and industrial schools, attributes this exception to the intensity of voluntary efforts in social work in both places, and in Bradford more particularly to the care of child life. The question whether the increased delinquency is due to the war is resolved by discovering that in all belligerent countries a similar increase has been observed, and in Germany the increase is said to be not less than sixty per cent. In two neutral countries—America and Switzerland—the authorities have been faced by a similar problem, which shows that the effect of war conditions is general and not due solely to the fact that the male parent has been compelled to join the fighting forces. The increase is practically confined to boys. It is greatest between the age of 11 and 12, and less between 10 and 11 or between 12 and 14. The effect upon girls comes later and is distinctly sexual in character. The conclusion to be drawn from these facts is that the prevailing cause of delinquency is the general excitement acting upon the nervous system of each child proportioned to the desire for self-assertion and the counteracting power of self-control. Between 10 and 11 the desire for self-assertion is weak, between 12 and 14 the power of self-control has increased. It emphasizes the enormous value of child management and the disastrous effect of ignorance or neglect on the part of the mother. We repeat the phrase constantly enough that the child is father of the man, but we rarely consider how all important for the State is the science of family life and how far-reaching and difficult are the responsibilities of motherhood. We are at last establishing schools for mothers and realising that to bring up children to the earning age

in the intervals of life devoted to other matters is not the way calculated to make any boy or girl into a good citizen. It is to be noted that all the children concerned belong to what may be called the "have nots," and the majority come from slum dwellings. The Home Office Memorandum, comparing the figures of 1915 with those of 1914, states as follows: "In London the number (of juvenile offenders) had grown from 1,304 to 2,005; in Liverpool, from 378 to 702; in Birmingham, from 248 to 402." Manchester shows an increase of 56 per cent.—1,049 cases in 1915, against 673 in 1914. In Edinburgh the increase was 47 per cent. These figures are given to arrest the attention of readers rather than as an accurate record of delinquency. For every child caught and prosecuted at least two or three have escaped discovery or capture, and there are hundreds of cases for which no prosecutor can be found.

Let me set down some specific causes operating in detail with that general cause which may be summed up as a kind of Mass Suggestion arising out of the state of war:—

1. Absence of the father.
2. Absence of elder brothers.
3. Increased occupation of the mother.
4. Decrease of school hours by the closing of schools.
5. Decrease of masters, scout leaders and other men devoted to the work of clubs.
6. Increase of wages by every member of the family more than 14 years of age.
7. Artificial darkness of the streets.
8. Decrease of police protection.
9. Increase of temptation by the passing of vans laden with parcels.

10. Cinema shows tending to stimulate the general excitement. It is possible to enlarge upon and even exaggerate every one of these causes, but the cumulative effect upon the initial nervous excitement is obviously great. The plain truth is that every family has been more or less thrown off its balance, and every member is forced to rely upon his or her power of self-management to stand firm and maintain the accustomed order of their going. Where is the basis of such self-management? It is supposed to be found in home training and education, but its real sanction is to be found in the public opinion which influences the family as a whole and to a less extent that which influences the school. Children up to 14, and even beyond it, are essentially imitative and reflect the moral atmosphere in which they live. In normal conditions the parents impose upon the children a higher standard of self-control than they adopt themselves, but when the conditions are abnormal the

pressure is removed and children prove that the lessons which they have really learnt are those which come from example.

I need not dwell upon the responsibilities thus incurred by all persons who have to do with children, but it is well to point out that it is not limited to the parents. Think of the average attitude of mind amongst adults towards immorality, towards self-indulgence in drink or any other form of extravagance, think of the disgusting abuse of language used to express thought upon every subject under heaven and the small regard for truth when it is inconvenient, then you will be surprised less at the delinquency of children when they are out to "play the man"—than at the leaven of innocence which is still to be found in all their misdoings. It is a characteristic of these juvenile offences that two-thirds of them are gregarious. They make raids upon market stalls, they break into houses, they steal from vans in small companies, and I have no doubt they think much less of what they are going to get than of the excitement and exhilaration of getting it in spite of the outraged tradesman and householder and the outwitted policeman. The moral sense is a plant of slow growth and dependent upon many elements of careful education. It cannot be won in a hurry, but short of it we can do a great deal to remove temptation and enable the children to find some vent for their high spirits in playgrounds other than the streets and in games which do not require to be played at the expense of other people. Mrs. Humphry Ward has done a splendid work in establishing play centres wherever she has found it possible, and I cannot help wondering why the Church has not seized the opportunity of providing a play centre in every town parish in the kingdom. The children should be, and theoretically are, the object of its special care, but why is its care so often limited to Sunday? Let them organize games for the children, let them dance and sing, and let them show what it is to give full play to a healthy mind in a healthy body. The task is a difficult one because they must offer some alternative to an exciting life of dissipation in the streets. If they succeeded the children would carry the lesson into their homes, and we should gradually find these homes becoming cleaner, the language of parents becoming more decent and drunkenness becoming less.

I confess that I was at first staggered to realise how naturally child mischief takes the form of larceny, but upon reflection I have ceased to wonder at it. A baby's first inclination is to take for itself anything which it fancies, and it is quite a long time before it realises that the world is not its property. For the most part they are taught to abstain from taking things which belong to other people by being made to suffer for it in some way or other. If therefore they can avoid the punishment by not being discovered

or avoid being discovered by telling a lie what is there but want of daring or cleverness, as they think it, to continue their old practice? Do not they often realise that their parents or people who associate with them do the same, and do not they often hear their elders speak of the world as a place in which the rich have made themselves happy by robbing the poor, and that policemen and magistrates have been created for the purpose of preventing the poor from getting back their own when the opportunity offers. I have not dwelt upon the mischief caused by the cinema theatres, which is often obvious and direct, but care should be taken to avoid general condemnation. They afford a great opportunity of stimulating the minds of children with much that is inspiring and bracing in the world's doings.

Let us pass from the children to consider the effect of war upon the criminality of adults. It is commonly believed that crime in general has decreased because it is proved by statistics that in certain parts of the country prisons have been converted into hospitals for lack of prisoners to fill them, and judges have frequently at assizes congratulated the country upon the general decrease of crime due to the war. I believe this view to be fallacious.

It must be remembered that in places where the war has removed immense quantities of men it necessarily follows that included among them were a good many actual and potential criminals, and their absence would result in fewer cases at assize towns, in all districts which have not been otherwise affected by the war. This is no indication of what the war has done or is doing to affect the character of those who remain behind under war conditions. To ascertain this it is necessary to concentrate attention upon the large centres of industry where trade has been stimulated, wages have increased, and there has been a ceaseless flow of goods through the streets to and from the railways, docks and wharves. In all these centres there has been a great increase of that form of larceny which is called pilfering because the property stolen comes into the hands of the thief in the ordinary course of his work. It is more easily accomplished than other thefts, and more difficult to detect, so that although comparatively few cases find their way into the criminal statistics they may be going on, and I believe they are, at an appalling rate. I have taken the trouble to write letters to many of the largest employers of labour in London to ascertain their experience; for example, the great railway companies, wharfingers, carriers, large retail shops and stores. Their answers leave no room for doubt upon the question. There has been a general increase of this form of crime amongst employees of both sexes and all ages. The increase is estimated variously by my correspondents at 50 per cent., 100 per cent., 200 per cent., and even 300 per cent.



The claims for lost parcels upon railways and other carriers has increased by thousands of pounds since the war. New tricks have been discovered among persons engaged in the unloading of ships whereby goods of one ship are found lost in the cargo of another so that the man who steals may say with a semblance of truth that he only pocketed what he had accidentally found. There seems to be an extraordinary absence of any conscience on the matter, and a general sense of everybody doing it if they can, and "small blame to them." I came, for example, upon a man who was employed to attend the police courts and pay the fines for convicted pilferers of a certain trade, who was styled by his mates "Banker"—as if it was consistent with ordinary character to insure against such a misfortune as discovery and conviction. In one large establishment where women and girls are employed the private detective has several times asserted that the number of employees who wear large bags or pockets under their skirts for the purpose of thieving if a good opportunity offers amounts to 75 per cent. I am loth to believe it, but certainly those who are caught, even girls of 15 or 16, are generally equipped in this fashion. Discount the figures as you will, there is no doubt whatever of this general demoralization, and one distressing feature of it is that it has constantly affected good servants of long standing, who repeatedly exclaim when caught, "I cannot think what made me do it. I must have been mad." If we turn from England to our fighting forces and those splendid men and women of ours, who have gone out to give of their best to the men who are offering their lives for their country, we find the same story. The late Miss Macnaughton, writing of her experiences in France, says: "The demoralization out here in regard to any sense of meum and tuum is complete. If you leave anything about for two minutes unattended you may consider yourself very lucky if you see it again." I have questioned soldiers about this, and they treat it as rather a joke; "Well you see, if a man takes your things to-day you will take his to-morrow, so it is all right in the end." But it is not all right that wounded men should be robbed of their valuables as they are carried from the trenches to hospitals; it is not all right that in hospitals themselves the same complaints are made that it is exceedingly difficult to avoid losing anything which is left unattended for any length of time. It was reasonable to suppose that children thrown off their balance should follow their own inclinations without taking themselves much to task, but we have surely a right to expect better things of grown men and women. Why do they fail us when the pinch comes? I have often asked the question of persons charged before me, and I have been amazed at the frequency with which men have said, "I have a wife and four children, and my wages, which are only thirty-five

shillings a week, did not run to it, so I had to make up the deficiency by taking home things from the stores"; or, "All I can say is, my object was quite altruistic, my wife was sick and couldn't eat ordinary food, so I took these things as delicacies to tempt her"; or, "Well, sir, all I can say is, everybody else seemed to be having a bit, so I thought there would be no harm in my having my share." The last is the most general explanation, and the first the most cynical. The idea that "everybody else seems to be making a lot out of the war, so I don't see why I shouldn't have my bit," is widely prevalent. It recalls the mind to the truth that "we are all members one of the other." The morals of the "have nots" are to a large extent created by the conduct of "the haves." If the richer classes worship the golden calf and value men according to their possessions the poorer classes are bound in the end to worship the same god in their own fashion. If the munition workers and shipowners and other caterers for the needs of the war went at once for the largest profits they could make for themselves their employees would think themselves fools if they acted upon any less selfish principle. The general lessening of regard for strict honesty is probably more of a revelation which has come about owing to the war than an actual creation of it. One thing is certain, it is not due to poverty, though some people will say it comes from high prices. That is nonsense, there never was so little poverty amongst working people or so little begging, and there never was so much "well-being" in the way of wages, and yet the dishonesty is greater.

Let us now consider the effect of the war upon women and girls, in so far as they have been influenced differently from the rest of the community. We all know that by criminal statistics women are about five times less criminal than men, but we do not know how far this is due to the more sheltered lives which they lead or the different standard of virtue and ideal of characters with which they have been trained. In a very broad sense women have been more trained for marriage than for anything else, and men have taken pride in the thought that "their women have no need to work." I hope that the war will have hit that sort of boasting very hard, but the thought arises that when women go out to work as men do and are exposed to similar temptations one may expect to see the criminal statistics of the two sexes coming nearer to each other. I have spoken of women and girls who are victims of the pilfering mania in the same way as men are, and I hear much of "ladies" who increasingly pick up what they can as they pass through crowded stores. One firm assures me that since the war they have had to more than double their watchers and yet their losses by this means are much greater than they used to be. I am told, and I have had experience of the fact, that many girls who

earn good wages have begun to whisper the word "season" as they pass a railway barrier without a ticket with the assurance of the most experienced male offender.

I come now to the evil effect upon women of war excitement in the sphere of sexual offences. It is impossible to doubt that charges for soliciting and for insulting behaviour have largely increased throughout the country owing to the war, but the real increase of prostitution and offences which lead to it are infinitely beyond anything which appears in court. In this particular outbreak of sexual misconduct the saddest and perhaps the most prominent feature is the number of girls who have been drawn into the vortex at the early ages of 15 and 16. I have had on more than one occasion a child brought before me in the children's court for insulting behaviour which amounted to soliciting as a prostitute and for being drunk at the age of 15. It seems incredible, but everything of that kind is possible if the parents are of a low type and care for nothing except the amount of money their children can bring in. What can we say to all this except that the conditions of war are so exciting and so demoralizing that they bring out in larger force the evil tendencies of human nature which ordinary conditions have done something to repress but little or nothing to destroy. It is my opinion that all attempts to deal with the women who sell themselves for gain will be practically useless so long as the community tolerates a different standard of purity for men and women. To correct this we must again go right back to the foundation of our training and education. We must of course meanwhile strengthen the law against those who make a trade of this form of vice, and for sanitary reasons we must make it a criminal offence for either a man or a woman consciously to infect another with venereal disease. That is something, but it is nothing like enough. The root of prostitution is idleness and insufficiency of wages paid to women for honest work. It is often forgotten too how much dullness is the cause of crime. I have heard it said that people would not steal if they were not dull, and the same thing could be much more truly said of prostitution. I refrain from speaking here of drink as a cause of prostitution, as it is of all crimes, because I mean to deal with this subject later, and it is too obvious to need insisting upon. One of the essential things to take care of is that the young woman who, for a variety of reasons, has fallen into the practice of a prostitute, should not be confounded with the professional who deliberately makes prostitution her livelihood. Such young women ought not to be treated as criminals, but as children who, under the Children's Act, are only liable to reformatory treatment. The general remedy on its economic side is reasonably paid occupation of a kind which does not degrade the worker and might be absorbing. Men of all

classes are trained to look forward to such occupation as the only dignified end of their education, work for them may or may not be necessary, but it is always honourable, and it should be the same for women. There are many signs of great changes in this respect which were observable before the war, but the war has already given a great impulse to what I may call "the dignity of work" movement. Thousands of girls of the richer classes are at work to-day for the nation and acquitting themselves in a manner which excites general admiration. I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that a feeling of pity and something akin to contempt has arisen for girls of every class who could work, but prefer to be idle and, when they can, frivolous. It is probable that with an increase of co-education there will be an improvement in sexual morality, because there will be a diminution of that mystery which makes one sex more a cause of excitement to the other than an impulse to natural companionship in work as well as in play.

Lastly, I would examine shortly how the nation has been affected by the war in the matter of drunkenness. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of knowing where we are upon this question, because, in spite of the biblical saying as to the love of money, I believe that drunkenness has a strong claim to be called the "root of all evil." When the war started everybody, from Lord Kitchener downwards, recognized the truth that efficiency in a soldier is increased or diminished in proportion to his sobriety. Our allies in France and Russia showed their belief in this principle by State regulation making the sale of absinthe illegal in the one country and the sale of vodka and all other forms of strong drink illegal in the other. It is said that the pecuniary sacrifice involved in these restrictions has been more than compensated for by the increase of general efficiency. Our Government did not wholly ignore the evils of intemperance, but they preferred to control the hours and management of the public-houses rather than ask the people generally to exercise self-control in their drinking. Can we be satisfied by statistics that drunkenness, or perhaps I had better say excessive drinking, has been decreased by the war? I doubt it very much. I know that statistics of charges and convictions for drunkenness throughout the country are encouraging, and I have no hesitation in saying that the law against treating and the shortening of hours for sale in public-houses have done a great deal of good, but I do not believe for a moment they have seriously changed the drinking habits of the people. It is important to remember how very fallacious statistics of charges are upon this matter. The congratulations of judges and chairmen of quarter sessions upon the diminution of charges due to drunkenness appear alongside of declarations at many petty sessions, that in spite of all the new regulations drunkenness appears to be on the increase.\* The

home drinking has undoubtedly increased in consequence of the necessity to buy spirits in bottles, and women have in certain districts formed small drinking clubs for the purpose of sharing in the purchase and consumption of that which no individual could conveniently pay for. The abuse of off licences, and probably the grocers' licences, has led to an increased neglect of home and children by people who have been demoralized not by poverty but by receipt of greater wages than they have ever had before. This is directly due to the war, and no honest person can doubt that soldiers and sailors have been a daily and hourly excuse for more drinking, for their relations and themselves. To speed their departure, to celebrate their return, to drown sorrow for bad news, or to display joy when it is good, nothing seems to suggest itself more readily than excessive drinking. The best way of realising our habit is to consider its cost to the nation. It is calculated that the national drink bill during the war to the end of 1916 was £400,000,000, and that our people spend upon it £500,000 a day. But if you reckon the destruction of grain in the manufacture of beer and spirits and the loss of sugar the actual cost to the nation in food can be calculated only in millions of tons. Weighing all the evidence, I consider that drunkenness has not been diminished by the war, and that to a very large extent this is due to the action of the Government which refused to "follow the King" in the example he set.

CECIL M. CHAPMAN.

EUROPE v. MIDDLE EUROPE.<sup>1</sup>

I HAVE been invited to speak to you on a single aspect of the great struggle,—the geographical relations of Europe and Middle Europe; that is of the part to the whole, the core to the continent; and this really comes to mean the relation of the core to the circumference. The problem involves some fundamental principles of geographic control, *i.e.*, the influence of environment in encouraging or discouraging certain human activities; and so I would like to preface my remarks by making three assumptions that are justified by both Historical and Economic Geography.

The first is that civilization is the collective work of large and small peoples, especially of small peoples near the sea, who always seem to develop powers of outlook, individuality, initiative, and who for that very reason are somewhat refractory material to organize, and of large inland peoples, who always seem to develop powers of organization, discipline, mechanical efficiency, and whose impotence individualistically is perhaps measured by the ease with which they can be organized. The second is that any particular culture, or contribution to civilization, has the right to live if it can, and the right to outlive feebler or inferior cultures, provided it competes with them fairly. The third is that no amount of organization, however good, can make second-rate material into a first-rate article, and that man lacking outlook, insight, freedom, is essentially second-rate. If so, the small marginal peoples have done far more for civilization than has been done by the large continental peoples; and, therefore, the world is most interested in the survival and prosperity of these small marginal peoples, even if their geographical position does to some extent block the large continental peoples from getting to the sea in certain directions. Quality must weigh down quantity; and civilization can only be guaranteed by the civilized.

When we apply this to Europe, we note that Europe in physique is not only a peninsula of Asia, but a "peninsula of peninsulas"; for a number of secondary peninsulas radiate from the core, which is itself physically and climatically a tongue of Asia. The physical map shows that this tongue is largely open land, plain and plateau, lacking in those obvious relief features which tend to favour the development of coherent political units. The secondary peninsulas, on the other hand, are largely intricate highland areas.

But, in the very nature of things, a peninsula is a semi-submerged highland, with a backbone—such as is seen ideally in the

1. The substance of an address to the Sociological Society.



Apennines—which tends to throw off the activities, *e.g.* of running water or primitive man, in opposite directions, *i.e.*, population tends to be marginal, with different interests and relations on opposite margins. Consequently, peninsula forms, in spite of their marked physical unity, have an equally marked influence adverse to political unity. The present condition of Iberia and Scandinavia dots the i's and crosses the t's in the history of the Italian and Balkan peninsulas.

But population tends to be marginal for climatic as well as physical reasons, because rain comes from the sea, and in Middle European latitudes rain, especially summer rain, has meant forest, the gradual clearing of which has given room for agriculture. So in "summer-rain" Europe there were the particularist background and the economic base which are naturally opposed to the pastoral nomadism of dry interiors, with its patriarchal background and its military base. But agriculture has always meant economic strength, though formerly divorced from mobility, while the steppes have always meant mobility, though formerly divorced from economic strength. That is why, whatever the relative merits of the two men, Cain's civilization was higher than Abel's. But the sea now means maximum mobility combined with maximum economic strength, and population tends to be marginal for commercial as well as for physical and climatic reasons.

In Europe these secondary peninsulas, radiating from the open core-land, are relatively small, and therefore isolate relatively small populations in natural nurseries of Nationalism. For unity of geographic conditions in the restricted area favours unity of human experience and intimacy of human intercourse such as in turn favour corporate sentiment and coherent solidarity. But the variety of conditions in the various peninsulas means variety of geographic control, and so variety of human response and reaction. The peninsulas are, therefore, complementary in influence; and as they are also numerous, small, and near together, their obvious destiny in geographical theory has always been an international union, such as already exists so far, and has existed so long, that we are justified in treating Europe as a separate continent.

Again, the easiest intercourse between these peninsulas in early days, when Middle Europe was mainly an expanse of forested marsh, was by sea—that sea which, by its influence on the position of woman in the fishing race, was the source of so much of our typical civilization, the scene of the fishery, and of the commerce based on the fishery; and when sea commerce is evolved naturally out of a sea fishery—which German commerce was not—it emphasizes every influence of the fishery in favour of outlook, initiative, freedom, tolerance, sex equality. In other words, it directly paves the way towards a true internationalism, *i.e.*, the safe,

easy, honourable intercourse of nations that are equal legally and morally,—as the child is "equal" to the adult—whatever their relative size and strength.

But as land-traffic developed, as the forest was cleared and the swamp drained, and there could be direct movement internally across the coreland of the continent, this international destiny was going to be greatly helped or still more greatly hindered by the character of the coreland people.

Now, theoretically, all coreland people, just because they are at the core, should feel a very keen sense of sharing the common experience of the larger natural region to which they belong. And this has been very marked in the case, *e.g.*, of Bohemia and Poland, with their eastern body and soul and their western minds and activities. It should be similarly marked in Germany. And in olden days, when Germany was incoherent politically, when it allowed—to 360 separate little units—their own culture and freedom and genius, individual men and individual towns did feel this; and, therefore, they did appeal to all Europe, and through Europe to the world. But we know of no such men and towns in Germany to-day. Minds and consciences are standardized to the machine of that lowest racial type in Europe, the true Prussian. Thought is only German, and for German ends, and is largely prostituted to the cult of an All-Highest War-Lord from a dynasty that has been diseased mentally and physically, or both, for 300 years. It therefore revolves in a vicious national circle. It obstructs internationalism.

But all corelands tend to be backward in real civilization—as judged by the position of woman—because they are relatively far from the sea; and Middle Europe has been doubly so, because it was isolated by the Alps from Rome and all that Rome meant. It was not reached by Rome directly, nor from Rome indirectly till late. Prussia was the last area in Europe to become (nominally) Christian, and that was not till the ninth century, when the original purity and vitality of Christianity had been so largely lost because it had become, what it still is in Germany, political. And the ultimate evil was worst in the west, *i.e.*, just where the small marginal peoples touch Germany, because it was here that Rome had been most direct, most vivid, most vital in influence, drawing a language line that became also a line of civilization. Ever since, the peoples west of the line, in spite of all their vice, have been at heart civilized and spiritual; east of it, in spite of all their virtues, they have been at heart savages and materialists.

But this particular coreland was open towards the east, *i.e.*, the only point from which early Europe was vulnerable—because two tongues of steppe run westward from Asia into Brandenburg and the Danube basin, thus admitting Tatar phenomena into the heart

of Europe. This was just the worst possible place, for it was backward naturally because forested or far from the sea, and artificially because never Roman. So Germany to-day is not really European, for Europe has stood for individual responsibility, but essentially Asiatic, for Asia has always merged the individual in the group; and, so far from being supermen and ahead of the world, the Germans are our inferiors and four hundred years behind the world, still at the tribal stage of political and religious development and basing territorial arrangements on dynastic arrogance. Germany, therefore, obstructs internationalism, and all the more because she is at the core.

But the open land of this core favours the wide distribution of a single type of people in a position that is possibly dangerous, certainly dominant, and Bismarck contrived to eliminate the danger and guarantee the dominance. And historic and economic geography favour the political unification of the upholders of any particular culture in such a continuous area. In any case their position and their numbers would give them a right to a large influence, political and economic, in the affairs of Europe, and would have given them an irrefutable claim to access to the sea in both the north and the south if they had not already got such access. Indeed, a continuous Greater Germany is not only reasonable and legitimate, but definitely desirable, if—but not unless—its people are bound together by corporate sentiment. Geography has not one atom of support for the forcible unification of all Teutons in a Central Empire, whether they are or are not in sympathy with the actual people of the centre. Yet in Germany, Conservatives, National Liberals, Progressives, and most Clericals are demanding such a unification not only of Teutons, but of alien peoples, in an empire of 180,000,000, of whom not 80,000,000 are German by race or speech or history or sentiment.

But the physical history of Europe shows another remarkable relation of core to margin, for Europe is structurally two peninsulas, an older one inside a series of younger ones. The nucleus is a peneplain of very old rock,—of medium height only, because worn down in the course of ages,—lying west of the shortest line between the Black Sea and the Baltic; and the scarp of this is characteristically rich in metals, from the iron of Lorraine to the zinc of Silesia. Its poor soil and dry climate made it also naturally grassland, and so an appropriate home for the Alpine Roundheads whose descendants in Swabia made the famous bronze gates for the cathedrals of Mediaeval Europe, as the descendants of the latter had a monopoly, in the Stuttgart and Munich of three years ago, of the trade in fine surgical and mathematical instruments. Here is the geographical base of the German control of the modern metal market.

The rock that is next to this old metallic block in geographical position is also next to it in geological age, and under these circumstances we almost always find the younger rock rich in fuel or salt or both. Moreover, the different structure leads to differential erosion, for the carbonated water off the impervious old block rots out a line of depression in the softer strata, and this forms a natural line of least resistance for traffic. So, here, metal, fuel, and transport are the basis of the metallurgical importance of such towns as Liège and Essen, and salt, fuel, and transport are the basis of the chemical industries of such towns as Barmen and Ludwigshafen. Under Prussian guidance the one specialized in armament, and the other in the support of a home agriculture intended to make the country self-fed even in a war with a Sea Power.

Germany, then, financed by this mineral base, but controlled from the Brandenburg steppe, has threatened Europe as it was once threatened by the patriarchal Huns on land and the particularist Vikings on sea. Both were mobile, and both threatened from outside; neither was strong in numbers or economically. But Germany, threatening from inside by both land and sea, is more mobile and possesses both numbers and economic strength. And so, just as the old threat stimulated nationalism, especially in the west, so the new threat has stimulated it again, especially in the east—with the result that Russia, with her genius for fraternity, is no longer antagonistic to the genius for liberty, which is typically British, or the genius for equality, which is typically French. But, in the interests both of nationalism and international equilibrium, Germany must lose her monopoly of these sheet-anchors of armament and agriculture. And, if she loses the coal and iron and salt of Lorraine and the coal and zinc of Silesia—her richest iron field and her richest coalfield—she will cease to be a danger as a technical base either to the peace of Europe or to the prosperity of honest trade. Even so, something more will be needed, for Europe must be progressive as well as safe; and that can only be when it has been proved beyond possibility of doubt that no State machine is greater than the common spirit of man.

In the meantime the State machine in Germany, like the Party machine in our own land, has been perniciously effective, not only making mediocrity efficient, but even making it believe itself to be genius, and imposing that belief on the politicians—though not the people—of neighbouring countries. But the efficiency is useless without freedom, outlook, and initiative; and when it is used to crush these, it becomes criminal, and must itself be crushed. This is why Germany's crime against the continent of Europe is greater than the sum of her crimes against the separate countries, though these include unparalleled brutalities.

It is precisely this depth of infamy that has stimulated so

vitally the spirit of nationalism, as the expression of true democracy, and done so under conditions which have so united the democracies that there is good hope that in future they will not be engrossed and overstrained in trying to express and safeguard their national existence, and so will be free to contribute a rich variety of results—political and economic, artistic and scientific,—to the real unity of a new Europe. The essence of this new Europe will be to guarantee to each coherent unit, whether small or large, whether weak or strong, freedom of individuality—so that it will be able to call its soul its own, freedom of economic opportunity—e.g., by access to the sea, and freedom of political relations—because the political and trade machines, the machines of law and the Church, will have been cleansed from alien and mammonite elements.

This is the natural destiny of any geographical area which can rightly be described as a "Peninsula of Peninsulas."

L. W. LYDE.



## LOCAL PATRIOTISM IN BELGIUM.

## I.

THE Belgian visitor to Great Britain is struck by the scarcity, in conversation and in newspapers, of references to municipal affairs and municipal authorities. The meetings of County and Town Councils are hardly ever reported, and public functions are seldom graced with the presence of aldermen and other civic dignitaries. Even the obvious exception of the City of London, with its Lord Mayor's show and its various beneficent activities, raises new puzzles: why should the office be held for a year only? As no man can master the endless details of administration in such a short time, who is really attending to the work? The conclusion is that insular methods are altogether strange and that they require protracted and careful examination to be understood.

The object of the present paper is to explain what a burgomaster, a college of aldermen and a municipal council mean in the daily life of Belgium, and how they came to their position of importance. Every tourist knows how prominent are Town Halls, Cloth Halls and Belfries in the older Flemish and Walloon towns. If he has attended a congress, he has probably been welcomed in a fine decorated hall by a gentleman in uniform, wearing a state sword, a cocked hat and a tri-colour belt round his waist. The belt is the only part of the costume that has a legal meaning and value: it is the emblem of civil authority, and is often worn over plain clothes. Civil marriage, the only form of marriage recognized by law, can only be performed by a municipal officer wearing the tri-colour belt. Its origin, of course, goes back to the French Revolution and to the Code Napoléon.

We find that we have already alluded to two of the fountain heads of the spirit of municipal self-government: one is the tradition of the great free cities of the Middle Ages, which survived to the close of the eighteenth century, when Belgium was annexed to France; another is the system of revolutionary French laws, opposing the mayor to the parson as head of the parish. The existence of a town or village police, sometimes consisting of a single constable dressed in a laced cap and armed with a stick, charged on the parish funds and commanded by the burgomaster, is also due to France. \* But in France the mayor became chiefly the agent of the central Government, acting through its préfet or provincial governor. In Belgium, the burgomaster also is appointed by the king's responsible minister, but he bears a double character. As an officer of the executive and commander of armed forces (police and militia) he is the king's representative.



As head of the college of aldermen (*collège des bourgmestre et échevins*), he is responsible to the elective municipal council and through them to the voters.

In this way the smallest parish of Belgium is a miniature copy of the constitutional realm itself, with its combination of hereditary authority and of democratic self-government. Though it is theoretically possible for a cabinet to appoint only party nominees as burgomasters, the constant practice of the country has been opposed to this. The municipal elections mostly run on the same party lines as the parliamentary elections. In such town and village councils as are carried by the parliamentary opposition, the crown's minister will appoint his own opponents, who, on entering office for a minimum of seven years, take command of armed forces and become the heads of the community. They therefore derive a joint authority from the popular will and from the royal commission.

But that authority again is limited, not only by the control of the elective council, who, having to approve the rates and taxes, hold the power of the purse, but also by that of the aldermen, called not by the French term *adjoints*, but by the Belgian one *échevins* (Latin *scambini*, Flemish *schepenen*). The *échevins* are elected by the council, and join the burgomaster in all those duties that are not strictly executive, such as the control of municipal schools, libraries, museums, gardens, roads, drainage, finance, public works, hospitals, poor relief, registration, markets, fire brigade, and occasionally of gas works, tramways, theatres, public pawnshops, etc. On any of these interests the burgomaster may theoretically be outvoted in his miniature cabinet, the narrow college of burgomaster and aldermen, and in the wider council; therefore he has to consult his majority and to keep them together in the same way as the prime minister of a large state.

As party spirit in Belgium runs as high as in any other free country, and as the clerical and anti-clerical organizations are many and active, it needs a constant watchfulness to meet and check the moves of the opponent, and local intrigue, gossip and press campaigns find full scope for their energies.

After dwelling on the legal and administrative aspects of municipal life, a word may be said about its effects on social habits and social relations. Suppose a Belgian removes to a new parish. After the first Sunday, his presence or absence at church makes him a marked man to the clerical and anti-clerical sets. Both know at once to which of them he belongs, the only question remains, how much help or hindrance they may expect from him. Here a good many cross influences may assert themselves: a common one is for the husband to support the anti-clericals with his vote and his subscription to party clubs, while the wife and

children keep more or less in touch with clerical schools and charities. Although cafés and shops are often sharply divided between the warring clans, and although private friendships and visiting are largely confined within each party, it is quite possible for members of opposite sets to keep on terms of mutual politeness, of course with a certain amount of reticence and reserve. The laying of traps and the capturing of prisoners is an essential feature of municipal tactics, and coaxing and cajoling are weapons no less use than the boycott.

Each side cries up its own achievements in the way of public works, education and poor law, as the height of disinterested national service, and correspondingly runs down the adversary's as a series of deceitful, selfish tricks. The impartial observer cannot but admire the social progress that results from this jealous emulation and intense activity. Village life in Belgium is full of the zest of battle and intrigue: brass bands parade the streets with banners and medals; dances, lectures, theatricals are organized, gymnastic clubs line up in showy uniforms, speeches are delivered by briefless and aspiring barristers, eager for fame and civic dignities.

But below the noisy and entertaining display, which has a positive value in making the world picturesque and exciting, the solid labour of social improvement is fostered by the rivalries of contending factions. The thrill of pity for the toiling classes which runs through the history of the last few generations has touched both sides, and both have responded to it by the creation of a network of social centres. Almsgiving was increased until the pauper knew that he might earn a pair of boots by putting a child into a lay school in one season, and a suit of clothes by taking him out and putting him into a denominational school a little later. This excess of goodwill had to be remedied by the organization of charity. Pauperism was not only fought by means of liberality, it was also undermined by Friendly and Building Societies, which reached and assisted every individual through local committees. There are few landlords and squires in Belgium, where inheritances are divided according to the French *codé*. Therefore the middle class have taken in hand much of the work done in England by the aristocracy. The labourer does not feel patronized or humiliated by advances from clubs whose representatives often stand on the same level with himself. As his vote is needed for political ends and the attendance of his children at school for the obtaining of educational grants from the central government, he knows himself to be a power in the state, and can support whichever faction he chooses with some regard for his own religious or political convictions, and without losing his self-respect. He is a member of the party, not a mere slave to it. Even if his

motives should be mean and selfish, as human motives are apt to be, he still has to be won over, and not brutally driven. Whatever are the means through which his standard of living is raised, its rise is a clear profit to his progeny and to the nation, and ultimately makes for health and independence.

"I remember being kept waiting in my burgomaster's house: his apology was that some labourers in the party opposed to his wanted some papers signed for their societies, and that he could not delay them. This weapon of courtesy, which the proud old gentleman consistently handled in fighting his opposition, had kept his party supreme for about forty years, during which he had himself conducted each marriage ceremony in the parish. If a man came to him to give notice of his intention to build a house on the street front he would examine the plans, suggest alterations, and obtain such changes as would improve the appearance of the street and make the dwelling more comfortable. He was the father of the village, and would underline his triumph after an election by special kindness and good humour to those whom he knew to have voted against him.

A man of independent means and good family connection in Belgium will be quite proud to stand for a municipal election and to accept, in due course, to serve as alderman and burgomaster even in a small village. A characteristic statue in the parish of Meysse, near Brussels, is that of Baron d'Hooghvorst, a Commander of the forces before King Leopold I's election, who was a burgomaster of the little place. He is represented in a farmer's smock, the uniform of the revolutionary army, with shoulder cords across his chest and a busby on his head. The green of a hamlet was felt to be an appropriate site for a bronze statue to an early ruler of the realm. Another typical memorial to the dignity and continuity of municipal office is a fountain in a pretty village north of Liège, now destroyed by the Germans: it is (or was) adorned with the busts of four lineal representatives of the one family of Fléchet, great-grandfather, grandfather, father and son, all of whom were local burgomasters, so that their dynasty survived empires and kingdoms, and linked up parish tradition from one century to another.

The devotion of some municipal officers to their duties amounts to a passion. Many give up all their time to parochial affairs, appear punctually at the town hall like salaried clerks, fight for the interests and beauty of their towns with the obstinacy and expert knowledge of landlords administering their hereditary estates. They will rush to the capital to argue with cabinet ministers and departmental chiefs, they will conduct negotiations with gas and tram companies, or try to wrest some concession from the State railways. They are no less ardent in asserting their authority

inside the parish than outside. One distinguished scholar and member of Parliament, who was a burgomaster in a suburb, always had receiving hours for each and all of his administrés (there appears to be no English equivalent for this French name for the inhabitant of a municipality). One good woman came to complain of having been reported by one of the constables for delaying to clean the street in front of her house, in compliance with municipal bye-laws. He took the trouble to investigate the matter, and on finding that the policeman had been unduly strict to a good house-mother he ordered the report to be cancelled. By its very insignificance this incident shows the extent and the patriarchal character of a burgomaster's power. If prizes are given to the pupils in a municipal school, he will be there in full uniform, hand the gilt-edged books to the children, deliver addresses to the parents, and never fail to sound the note of local pride.

The extent to which burgomasters may become national representatives is exemplified in Leopold II's abortive attempt to share in the international expedition against the Boxers during the siege of the European legations in Peking. The King was prevented from sending out a body of troops belonging to the national army, but he persuaded the burgomasters of the four largest towns—Brussels, Antwerp, Liège and Ghent—to appeal for volunteers and form a small expeditionary force. Exceptional as this was, it shows how the people's spokesmen were and are the elected representatives of the cities, as they were in the fourteenth century, when Jacques Van Artevelde had an alliance with his gossip King Edward III.

All burgomasters are bound to accept a trifling salary as a token of their allegiance to the crown, some receive a moderate income from the city funds, but no man would take the office for mercenary reasons. It always is a disinterested public service, entailing more labour and expense than would a similar business situation, and yet it frequently ends by absorbing all the energy and ability of those that fall victims to it.

When Burgomaster Max of Brussels fought his battle royal for the national self-respect, after his city was occupied by the enemy, he rendered a service to the municipal spirit of Belgium and to the cause of European freedom equal to that rendered in their time by the Van Artevelde, but he and his townspeople were continuing a worthy and uninterrupted tradition.

Among the many statues which are the pride of the city of Brussels one commemorates the rebellion and execution of François Anssessens, the dean of one of the local guilds, who in 1719 laid down his life in defence of the corporative privileges against an Austrian governor. His monument represents him as an old man walking proudly to the scaffold with his hands tied behind him. His memory and example have been an inspiration to later heads of our capital.

## II.

It is obvious that the above account is founded on historical and political data, and that it includes no economic considerations. Now the extent of the average Belgian commune or parish—which is only three or four miles across—is not sufficient for such municipal enterprises as electric cars, gasworks, water supplies and drainage systems. Public works of that type have therefore increasingly been initiated and conducted by associations, each of which contained several municipalities. The various forms and achievements of such associations, which very often are connected with private companies, cannot be studied in a short paper like the present. Let it therefore suffice to state that they exist and have help to solve many of the civic problems confronting such a highly complex and organized social community as that of Belgium was before it was crippled by the war.

P. HAMELIUS.



THE MAKING OF THE FUTURE.<sup>1</sup>

THE war marks, in a definite way, the closing of one era and the opening of another. On the one hand it is the poisonous fruit of an age of pitiless competition and machiavellian diplomacy. But on the other, it expresses a spiritual protest and rebound against the mammon of materialism. In all its nobler aspects, its heroisms and self-sacrifices, does not the war hold promise of renewing Life, liberated from a long repression? Since the Industrial Revolution, there has gone on a wholesale sacrifice of men to things, a subordination of human life to machinery. For a still longer period, standards of thought and conduct have been falsified by monetary values. To the millionaire has, in effect, passed the royal inheritance of "right divine."

How far now can we hope for and realize, the reversal of these tendencies mechanical and venal? How far can we think out and organize the needed transition from a machine and money economy to a life economy? The war has been a gigantic Dance of Death, for which modern business with its associated politics and diplomacy were the long-drawn-out rehearsal. Is it not now the turn of Life, to take the floor and call the tune, and if so, on a scale of corresponding magnificence? And as a beginning, may not the idea of social wellbeing expressed in enrichment of life, increasingly leaven the individual pursuit of wealth? And may not the struggle for existence within the nations, and even across their frontiers be increasingly replaced by the ordered culture of life in its full cycle from infancy to age and at all its expanding levels from home and neighbourhood outwards?

Things have been in the saddle and ridden mankind wellnigh to the death. The cult of force in statecraft has been brought to logical perfection by Prussia. The cult of "profiteering" in business reached its issue in the monopolistic Trust. Yet these two great evils of our materialized civilization are manifestly but the social and individual aspects of one pervasive tendency. They have historically risen together. Is it not possible they are destined to fall together before the tide of a new vitalism?

Those who foresee, in sequel to the war, a social rebirth, with accompanying moral purgation, will furnish to all these questions answers coloured by their hopes. The fears of the pessimists will dictate a contrary set of replies. To substantiate these hopes, to arrest these fears, is needed a doctrine that not only goes beyond

1. The title of a series of books announced for publication by Messrs. Williams and Norgate, under the editorship of Professor Geddes and Mr. Victor Branford. The article here printed is the introductory essay appended to the initial volume, called "The Coming Polity: a study in reconstruction."—*Editor Soc. Rev.*



the Germanic Philosophies, which before the war dominated our universities, but also is corrective of their defects. The "idealisms" of these recently fashionable philosophies were bastard products of archaic thought detached from the living world. Such abstract idealisms needs replacing by definite ideals, concrete and human, if all men of good will are to be brought together for the making of a new and better civilization.

It is the aim of this Series to gather together existing elements of reconstructive doctrine, and present them as a body of truth growing towards unity and already fruitful in outlook and application. There are three schools of thought from which the series will mainly draw. One of them lays stress upon family life, contacts with nature, the significance of labour, the interests of locality. Elaborated into a doctrine this becomes the "regionalism" of France. Its scientific foundations were laid two generations ago by LePlay. The influence of its many and diverse groups is steadily growing in France, and unobtrusively spreading to other countries; as, for example, in England, through the economic and social surveys of Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree; through the activities of the Regional Association and of the Oxford School of Geography.

Another guiding outlook, which is rather a tradition than a school, sees the progress of mankind as an unfolding of ideas and ideals. Two thinkers of post-Revolutionary France discerned this vision with compelling clearness. Auguste Comte saw it as a procession of great personalities, linked in apostolic succession. Joseph de Maistre saw it as a movement and manifestation of religious life. There have resulted two re-interpretations of life, mind, morals and society. They are divergent in appearance, but alike in essence. Both present a view of life and the world, inimical to the Prussian cult of force. The two-fold influence of this humanist tradition is world-wide. Witness the writings of William James, Madame Montessori, Prince Kropotkin and F. W. Foerster of Munich—to name but four among the many recent and contemporary humanists whose roots penetrate this fertile soil. The vitalistic philosophy of Bergson is manifestly racy of the same soil.

In the third place, there is the incipient Civism of independent origin and rapid recent growth in Britain, in America and in Germany. This incipient Civism has been the parent of constructive Betterment and to no small extent of Child Welfare also. It has inspired the repair and renewal of historic cities, the tidying up of confused industrial towns, the guidance and gardening of their suburban growths.

The Hebraic ideal of adjusting city life to the care and culture of child life was thus in active renewal before the war. So also

was the Hellenic ideal of seeking the Good, the True, the Beautiful through a citizenship, active and contemplative.<sup>1</sup> With the downfall of Tsardom achieved and the reduction of Kaiserism in process, this civic renaissance will continue; and not least splendidly in the ancient cities of Burgher Germany, released from their Prussic enchantment. From this source maybe will come in the after-war generation, a formative contribution towards the sphinx-riddle of politics: How to federate Free Cities and their Regions? Reflecting in the tranquillity of peace, on the penalties of imperial attachment to Berlin, will not these once free cities seek determinately for some form of union without metropolitan subjection? But that is the federal problem, whose solution has so long evaded the grasp of the western world.

Behind the rise and fall of states, nations and empires, may be discerned the struggle of cities for freedom to develop their own regional life. And again, around and within the civic drama is the play of the rustic elements from which the city's life is perennially renewed. Civic life is thus the crown and fulfilment of regional life. Their joint development makes a partnership of Man and Nature in a ceaseless game of skill with Interfering Circumstance. The stakes are cities with their accumulated heritage of art, learning and wealth. When the twin partnership is winning, civic life flourishes, as in Athens and Jerusalem of old, in Florence of the middle time, or in Louvain but yesterday. When Interfering Circumstance is dominant, then is the occasion for predatory empires to expand like Assyria, Macedonia, or Prussia.

As correctives of predatory imperialism, regional and humanist ideas naturally arise. But regionalism and humanism are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, they are, for the awakened and educated citizen, the two necessary and complementary poles of his civilization. The needle of the mariner's compass gains stability by oscillating between the two poles of the world of nature. So, regionalism and humanism indicate the two poles of man's world; and the art of civics is his mariner's compass. Through the making and the maintenance of cities, man is ever seeking a bi-polar stability. On the one hand, he obeys the call of family, of neighbourhood and of region. On the other, he reaches out to the widening appeal of nation and federation, of civilization and humanity. In the measure that cities work efficiently on each and all of these levels, the progress of the world continues harmoniously.

1. "Civics" in the sense here used may be taken to mean the endeavour to unify and co-ordinate these two main movements (Hebraist and Hellenist) and their many subsidiary ones. For a statement of civic theory and practice in this sense, see "Interpretations and Forecasts," by Victor Branford (Duckworth & Co., 1914) and "Cities in Evolution," by Patrick Geddes (Williams and Norgate, 1915).

The supreme triumphs of Art have been won in these manifold services of the city. Pyramid and Temple, Acropolis and Forum, Cathedral and Town Hall, are peaks in the chequered evolution of civic life. What of this evolution to-day and to-morrow? It is significant that in the development and decline of cities, Beauty and Efficiency have come and gone together. The cogent lesson for our own times is that Art and Industry, Education and Health, Morals and Business, so generally severed in the passing age, must henceforth advance in unison. But how in practice effect the mutuality of understanding and the unity of purpose, requisite for concerted activity? Surely by experimental but deliberate and continuous working together of all for the efficiency of city and ennoblement of citizen on each plane, domestic and regional, national and federal, international and humanist.

Behind the war of armies is a war of ideas. In the latter warfare the fortresses are Universities. They have in all countries in the passing generation been strongholds of Germanic Thought. Hence the boast of professors that Teutonic *Kultur* was destined to rule the world seemed not unreasonable. But the countering ideas, regional, civic and humanist, have also been fermenting in the universities. Therefrom is emerging a doctrine deeper, truer, and more creative than the mechanical and venal philosophy which has had its logical fulfilments in Prussian Militarism and Competitive Business.

The re-awakening movement of the universities has been slow, timid, blindfold, because lacking in civic vision. Now, therefore, is urgent an arousal of the universities to their spiritual responsibilities for the fulness of life, in all its phases, individual and social. In every region is needed a comprehensive working together of city and university on each plane of the ascending spiral from home to humanity.

In spite of a political system democratic in form, the People have played but a passive rôle in the departing age of money and machine economy. In the coming age of life economy, the activity of the People will be creative in proportion as two conditions are satisfied. The inner life must be purified and enriched, and opportunities without distinction of class, rank or sex, must be accorded for the development of personality through citizenship. In the needed intellectual and moral transformation, the university is called upon to play a part, simultaneously redemptive for itself, for the people, and for its city and region. It must not only aid the birth of the new doctrine; but must boldly suggest and even plan the practical applications thereof. Thus may unity of thought and concert of purpose develop together.

A sound psychology, for instance, teaches that the aggressive spirit which characterizes Militarism may be transmuted, not

eliminated. Attempts at repression do but drive its manifestations into underground channels. Constructive outlets have, therefore, to be found for the adventurous dispositions of Youth, the affirmative energies of Maturity, the political ambitions of Age. Towards this ennoblement of masculine passion William James bequeathed to mankind the idea of inventing "moral equivalents of war." For example, consider how the Boy Scouts are helping to tackle that growth of juvenile crime which is one of the evil results of the war already visible. They transform the young delinquent into a Temporary Scout, and harness him to some simple constructive endeavour. Here, then, is a mode of Re-construction, which also, and at the same time, exemplifies what the French call Re-education, and what moral teachers call Renewal. Out of the general principles here seen at work, may be built up a social policy. Thus starting from regionalism, with its complement of humanist teaching, and proceeding through civic applications of both, we reach a policy of "the three R's," new style.

Through the redemptive quality of war, the nation has shed not a little of its competitive individualism, and achieved a closer working together of all for the common good. How now to maintain and advance the sense of community, the energy of collective effort, the self-abnegation of individuals and families? Clearly, in the after-war polity, there must be arousal among all classes of a personal sense of definite responsibilities, including and transcending one's own life and work. There must be some vision, clear yet moving, of a better future. And knowledge and goodwill towards its gradual realization must not be lacking. All these aims, the Series will endeavour to elucidate and advance, and not only through application of regionalist, civic and humanist teaching, but also by culling what is vital and essential from other schools of practical sociology.

The design on the cover of the books is adapted from a stained glass window in the Outlook Tower, Edinburgh. The window is a student's commemoration of teaching and research devoted to an interpretation of the Past and the Present for the foresight and guidance of the Future. The symbolism of this *Arbor Sæculorum* is explained in one of the two introductory volumes: "Ideas at War," by Professor Geddes and Dr. Gilbert Slater. The design as used for the cover of that book is here reproduced.



Arbor Sæculorum

## A PERMANENT RURAL POLICY.

It is admitted on all hands that a new rural policy is needed. The question is, shall that policy aim primarily at the production of more food, leaving the question of the kind of human life involved to settle itself, or is it to aim primarily at human welfare and happiness and incidentally at an increased food supply? Present urgent needs must of course be met, but the question is, what of our permanent rural policy?

Our urban policy since the Industrial Revolution has been of the former type. We have thought more of things than of persons, and our industrial towns, with their population lowered in physique, are the fruit of this policy. Should we not consider carefully before entering on a corresponding policy for rural districts? Suppose we adopt the mere increase of goods as our sole object, it is very likely to defeat itself, for the conditions and prospects open to the agricultural labourer under this system are not such as to bear comparison with those he can obtain by immigration to the colonies, and yet labour is required. The obvious plan would be to import Chinese labourers, and this would be quite in accordance with the spirit of such a policy, but it is probable that any such proposal would be defeated by organized labour in the towns.

We will, however, suppose that labour difficulties have in one way or another been overcome and try to form some picture of the countryside under such a policy. First, we may take for granted that it will not make any large and general endeavour to break up the large farm system, though this would mean more food production. Such an effort requires the impetus of an ideal, otherwise it will not be made. The farmers would be under the supervision of experts who would see that any farmer neglecting his land was turned out, and whose advice would therefore be listened to with great respect. The farmers would receive a minimum price for wheat and oats. Rents would not be dealt with by any land court system. The agricultural labourers would receive a minimum wage, and would probably be better housed than they are at present. Machinery would be much used to replace labour. Some kind of "welfare system" might be extended to agriculture. But there would be no tendency to freedom and independence for the labourer; on the contrary, the farmers would be in a stronger position than ever, and the tendency would be to eliminate the more adventurous spirits and create a more and more servile population, living under conditions of tolerable comfort, but without hope or initiative. On the other hand, if our first object is to keep up the balance between town and country and produce a vigorous race, vigorous in mind as well as in body, it is obvious that our first step must be to give a prospect of independence to large portions of the agricultural community so that ambitious lads may see that it is not necessary to leave the country to lead a full and vigorous life. And this policy must be prepared for now, so that when the army is disbanded after the war we shall be able to attract thousands of young men who otherwise would emigrate to Australia, New Zealand or Canada.

The Australian Colonies are offering not only land but capital to returned soldiers, and unless we do the same it is obvious that the pick of those suitable will go. We want to aim at an England that shall understand *la petite culture* as well as France does, that can co-operate as well as Denmark, that can make use of common rights as well as many parts of Germany. Such a policy does not separate the question of food supply from



that of the life lived in the country-side, but sees that they are indissolubly bound together.

We must have the land, capital (*i.e.*, command of credit), the development of co-operation, if we are to meet the need. Instead of finding six or eight thousand acres of land for returned soldiers, millions of acres are needed, and at least £100,000,000 in capital or credit. A great inquiry should at once be set on foot to find where such land may best be taken, and consideration should be given as to the kind and amount of credit that will be given and the qualifications required of applicants together with any arrangements for training to secure qualification.

But if such a rural policy is to take real root and flourish permanently we shall need above all to reorganize our educational system on more rural lines, and to give opportunities for a fuller social and intellectual life to the people of the villages and small country towns. The market towns should be centres not only for the economic life of a group of villages, but also for their intellectual and spiritual life.

#### THE MARKET TOWN.

For these ends a country town should have, in addition to a market-place, a system of experimental gardens and orchards, where (a) experiments in methods of cultivation can be demonstrated; (b) a pleasant and restful garden can be developed as a botanic garden and used with a café as an alternative meeting place to the public-house.

On one side of such a garden system should be a regional museum, showing the geology of the region, its plant, bird and animal life. This, with the gardens, would constitute a centre to which parties of children from the country schools should be taken for nature talks and study. Such a regional museum plays a great part in the education of the children at Perth; at other places also promising museums of this type are developing.

On the other side should be a clubhouse for town and country members, which should be a centre of regional life. Here should meet local unions of nature study circles, of archaeological societies, or regional survey societies, and unions of farmers and small holders for various purposes.

Besides these discussions, regular courses of lectures and demonstrations should be arranged for here. In connection with this clubhouse there should be a hall with dressing-rooms capable of being used for plays, pageants, etc., which could also be organized in the botanic garden.

Also on the edge, if possible, of this garden system, and with its own playgrounds behind, stands the grammar or secondary school specially organized to have a bent towards rural life.

The boys will learn largely by doing, and the school will use the experimental gardens to aid in this, and will also use the services of a group of craftsmen.

The grammar school and its craft-shops will be utilized in the evenings as a local centre for work under the County Council in crafts, gardening, agricultural machinery, etc. A boarding-house for boys and another for girls will take, for periods of three to six months, boys and girls between fourteen and twenty, who are to be the small-holders and farmers and labourers of the future. The young people would do their own work, and fees should be nominal. This would be an adaptation of the Danish people's high school system.

In connection with the club-house, or possibly close to the market-place, there will be showrooms where the work of the craftsmen of the town and neighbourhood can be bought, and where from time to time also exhibitions

of craftwork on loan from South Kensington can be seen and studied. There will be a public library which will have a system of lending books to the village libraries, and where the librarians will be able to give expert advice on courses of study.

In the course of the summer (possibly between the hay and corn harvest) there will be a regional festival to which all the villages will contribute, held in the public gardens, and including such items as a play or pageant, choir competitions, the reciting of the best set of original verses, the competition of village bands, etc.

In all this is assumed the development of a co-operative system for buying and selling agricultural produce and for credit, as well as the ordinary co-operative stores. Co-operation is itself an essential element in educational and social life no less than in economic development. We have to substitute a co-operative world for a competitive one if peace is to be lasting when it comes.

#### THE VILLAGE.

How many such organs of social and educational life can we expect to find in the village? Villages of course will vary in size and equipment, but we may suppose a normal minimum to include—

1. A group of workshops used in connection with the school and for continuation school work as well as outside it.

2. A system of school gardens and gardens used in connection with continuation work.

3. The use of school buildings (a) for lectures and demonstrations on rural subjects by lecturers under the County Council in connection with continuation work; (b) boy scouts and girl guide meetings; (c) meetings of clubs and societies for adults.

4. There should be a village hall, preferably part of the school buildings, furnished with a stage and small rooms behind for use as dressing-rooms, the hall to be used for plays and for meetings. A room in school buildings fitted as a gymnasium and used after school hours by older boys and men, and on other days by girls. A reading-room, also part of school buildings, in connection with the country town library and containing permanent libraries for children. School shower-baths used by adults after school hours and open-air swimming bath where possible.

5. Adjoining the school there should be a café with garden, where light refreshments can be had and where the village band should play and dancing be held at least one evening a week in the summer. In the winter the dance could be in the village hall. Here also folk dances and songs should be taught in the winter.

6. Additional instruction in craftwork not given by the resident craftsmen should be provided under a County Council's scheme during the winter, as well as lectures on general subjects.

7. The co-operative society is for adults, at least perhaps the most important educational instrument at our disposal, as well as essential to the proper working of small holdings. It should have as headquarters a room where orders for seeds, fertilizers, etc., could be taken, and where agricultural produce could be bulked and graded for despatch to the market town or further afield. Here also the members would meet for arrangements as to common grazing land, cow and pig societies, and other matters. Here also should be the arrangements for co-operative credit. It may be noted also that the work of the village craftsmen as far as not needed locally could be collected here for transit to the country town showrooms.

8. There should be developed a system of farm apprenticeship under which only part of the boys' time would be given to direct farm work (except during haymaking and harvest time), the rest being divided between rural handicrafts and general education. Each boy to spend at least three months in the year at the country town centre for instruction, on the Danish people's high school system.

9. A motor transit system will enable people to share to some extent in the fuller educational and social possibilities of the market town.

These village developments need a new staff; there should be a paid organizer able to direct and stimulate the activities of the villagers and to organize a Village Society of which all the activities mentioned would be branches. Such a highly-trained man or woman would need assistance, but this might be very largely voluntary and might be part of the training given to the older boys and girls.

He would call in the services of the peripatetic lecturers under the County Council, and would work out with the Society courses of recreative study as well as set on foot clubs for special purposes, such as nature study, regional survey, etc. He would co-operate with the schoolmaster and mistress in much of this work, relieving them of overstrain in its development.

Such an England would be an England that need not fear depopulation of her rural areas; it would be strong in the best of all ways, strong in the health, development and happiness of its people, as well as in the fact that it would be able to go a long way, if not the whole way, to feeding itself. It must be remembered that this is not only important for war, but still more in peace because it means that the struggle for foreign markets can be made less intense, and that there will be a certain tendency of the people back from the towns to the country, a tendency that may be materially helped if the new type of education is not confined to rural districts.

If the war makes it possible that such a policy will be inaugurated it will not, so far as we are concerned, have been fought in vain. Russia will have gained freedom, perhaps even Germany may have gained freedom, France safety and her lost provinces, England will have gained new life and a renewed people.

SYBILLA BRANFORD.

## REVIEWS.

## THE STUDY OF COMMUNITIES AND THEIR REGIONS.

**COMMUNITY: a Sociological Study.** Being an attempt to set out the nature and fundamental laws of social life. By R. M. Maciver, D.Phil., Associate Professor of Political Science in the University of Toronto. MacMillan & Co., 1917. Price 12/-.

THIS book essays a double purpose. The first is a critical examination of sociological concepts; the second is to deduce therefrom the lines on which sociological speculation and research should in future run. To this double adventure the author brings a comprehensiveness of knowledge, a depth of insight, a clarity of vision, a cogency of argument, a simplicity of language and a dignity of style, such as are not often found together. The combination of qualities bids fair to make his book a landmark in the development of sociological thought.

When we speak of the village community we think of the land, the people and that common life which makes the villagers members one of another. The essence of community is in similarity of response to stimulus. The villagers inherit a certain tradition of knowledge and skill, of custom and aspiration, all in reference to a particular environment. Transmitted from past generations and augmented by the experience of the present, the communitary inheritance passes on to posterity. The community is thus something which transcends the present, for it includes the past and the future, and this not only of the people but also of their environment. All this, thanks to a succession of notable writers from Maine onwards, is well recognised in the case of the village community. Less so in the case of other communities.

What are these other communities? There are families or domestic communities and tribal ones. There are cities and nations. There is an occidental community and there is the human community. And between each of these are many varieties. As examples of groupings that are not communities, take the club, the trade union, the joint stock company, the Church and the State. These are combinations made, as it were, *ad hoc*. They are directed to a particular purpose. Their realm is not coincident with all that is common to the people of a given geographical area. For instance, outside the Church, even where there is but one church, there is in all modern communities the objective life of industry and commerce. Outside the State in all modern communities is the subjective life of personality. Neither State or Church therefore can be coincident with communitary life. Similarly for the concept of empire. "The Roman Empire," says Professor Maciver, "was not a community; not a living thing, but an imposed system, an institution." To cover all groupings which fall short of community, the word Association is proposed by Professor Maciver, as a technical term.

The proper subject of sociological science, he rightly affirms to be, community. But, in order to be studied according to the methods of science community must be located in space and chronicled in time. It must have a geography and a history. In other words, the sociologist must

reach community through the study of communities. When communities have been observed, compared, classified and generalized, then community will become a possession of sociology. Such is the scientific approach to the needed "synthesis of community."

There is, to be sure, a vast accumulation of data. But little of it is systematic. It is too much like Botany before Linnæus. Le Play's great series of monographs on the working class families of Europe brought scientific order into one corner of the field of community. A whole generation of research published through the pages of *La Science Sociale*, has applied Le Play's method more or less rigorously in other portions of the field. But even when to these is added all other systematized data, the logic of science compels the admission that the concrete labours of descriptive sociology are only at their beginning. Hence it is no blame to Professor Maciver that his book is entitled, not *Communities*, but *Community*. The latter title implies affiliation rather to the abstract world of philosophy than to the concrete realm of science. The book is indeed of the nature of philosophical prolegomena. As an aid and impulse to the study of communities it will clear the ground of many encumbering obstacles and furnish stimulus and guidance to the oncoming generation of workers in the sociological field most in need of cultivation.

Its abstract outlook, its wide survey and its character at once critical and constructive make summary of the book difficult. Hence let us begin by way of sample, with a somewhat lengthy citation—one which marks the author's point of departure, indicates his goal, illustrates his manner of writing and incidentally discloses a certain defect.

"Some twenty-three centuries ago, Plato wrote a great dialogue on the city community and its right ordering. We agree to call it *The Republic*, but it is in fact, as it is strictly in name, a work on the community of the city (*πολιτεία*)" [Here occurs a footnote as follows: "As usual, the translators of Plato nearly always render (*πόλις*) as "State" instead of "city," thereby losing the orientation of the original."] "It is not simply what we understand as a treatise on political science, it is too concrete and comprehensive for what we usually understand as a treatise on ethics, discussing as it does, the principles of economics, politics, family life, religion, education, philosophy, art, and literature. Plato saw all these as factors of one common life bound together within the unity of that life. *The Republic* was the first and greatest of sociological treatises."

"But the unity which Plato's comprehensive mind had found soon disappeared. It was partly that the social world was differentiating, even when he wrote, into something too complex to be contained under the form of the city, partly that his successors had not the power of their master to discover a new synthesis of community. The greatest of Plato's disciples wrote a series of separate treatises on the different aspects of social life. In particular he wrote one treatise on ethics and another on politics, without being clear about the relation of the one to the other. The co-ordination was lost, and men have continued down to our own days, to treat as separate studies, economics, politics, religion, education and so forth, while little or no attempt has been made, until quite recently, to show their inter-relation and their basis in communal life."

"Yet *The Republic* was the greatest achievement of Hellenic thought, and the greatest achievement of our thought to-day might well be a like synthetic interpretation of our greater and more complex world. The growth of sociology since the time of Comte is a witness that men are

beginning to realize again that there is a unity of social life, and are seeking to restore the lost synthesis of community."

Serious students of Comte will be somewhat surprised at the implied criticism in the above passage. Indeed the one grave defect of this notable work is that the author's critical and imaginative faculty applied so fruitfully to other sociological authorities, has been content to take Comte at the current valuation of the schools. Professor Maciver shares the disability of most contemporary sociologists in failing to see that Comte's sociology was essentially a theory of community, and therefore takes its place in direct continuity with Plato's *Republic*. Comte discerned the unity of social life under all its protean forms, in history and under contemporary conditions. He gave to this unity the expression of a formula, intended for use in the analysis and re-synthesis of all communities, past, extant and prospective. His generalization of Temporal and Spiritual Powers expressed what he believed to be the two vital aspects—as it were, the two hemispheres—of full-orbed community. His classification of social types showed what he believed to be the mode of working of these twin communal powers. The "chiefs" and "people" being the necessary elements of the temporal power, and the "emotionals" and "intellectuals" those of the spiritual power. Here then is a theory of community. It affirms (1) a definite direction of community development, viz., the increasing differentiation of Temporal and Spiritual Powers, towards a state of independence and voluntary co-ordination; (2) the ranking of communities in historical development in terms of (a) their approach towards the foregoing ideal, (b) their incorporation of all individual members without distinction of rank, class or sex in the full culture heritage of the community, (c) the expansion of the community's culture towards a comprehensive human culture.

This is a theory which may be good, bad or indifferent. It stands in need of application and assessment as a working hypothesis; it calls for critical examination as a theory of communal life. But two generations of academic sociologists have passed it by in silence, as though it were an unclean thing. It is this repressive tradition which has diverted Professor Maciver's attention, otherwise so vigorous and alert.

According to Professor Maciver there is one grand law of community development, which reveals the very nature of community, and so contains within itself all the other laws. He states this law in various ways. Here are some of his statements of it: "Socialization and individualization are the two sides of a single process"; "Sociality and individuality develop *pari passu*"; "the profounder his socialization, the wider the potential community to which an individual belongs"; "as personality develops for each and for all, it reveals the twofold development of individuality and sociality"; "personality is a unity whose factors are individuality and sociality"; "the differentiation of community is relative to the growth of personality in social individuals."

We might re-state Professor Maciver's concepts in a slightly different way. Without society, the individual is a mere abstraction, and *vice versa*. Community expresses and fulfills itself in personality. But what is personality? It is a flower rooted in organic life and growing by repeated fertilization from other personalities. And these other personalities, what are they? They are all either historic survivals, or living contemporaries, or creations of the artistic mind. In all cases they are the product of life, tradition and environment acting together. They are



manifestations of one unity. The historian of civilization sees this unity as societies in conflict or co-operation. The living contemporary sees it as personalities in a drama of situations. In forebode it is seen as personalities more socialized and as societies more personalized.

Stated in this way, Professor Maciver's theory has a manifest resemblance to that of Comte. It is therefore a pity that Professor Maciver did not have before him the elaborate structure and the concrete presentation of Comte. The omission is doubly unfortunate. For Professor Maciver is familiar, if not with the monographs of Le Play, certainly with the work of his successors and continuators in *La Science Sociale*. He realizes that this work is important because it makes a simultaneous and co-ordinate study of communities and their physical environment. The geographical labours of this school supplement the sociology of Comte on its weak side; for with his emphasis on the social heritage, Comte was relatively negligent of the physical environment. And since the Le Play school is insufficiently alive to the historic factor, it correspondingly would be benefited by an infusion of the Comtist element. There is thus presented an interesting opening for a practical partnership in research and a philosophical study in methodological co-ordination. The latter problem is one to the resolution of which, the aptitudes of Professor Maciver would profitably lend themselves. It is to be hoped that in one of the many future editions which may be predicted for his book the author will take up this problem. A notable contribution towards its solution and development was made in two papers on "Civics as applied Sociology," which appeared in the first and second volumes published by the Sociological Society (*Sociological Papers*, 1904-5-6). And as indicating the practical value of the methods and formulae therein advanced, it may be mentioned that their actual application to concrete studies of definite communities is in progress at many points, and that there has been formed a Regional Association for promoting the study of communities on these lines. V. V. B.

### THE FRENCH BIRTH-RATE.

THE BIRTH-RATE AND THE LAWS OF SUCCESSION IN FRANCE. *NATALITÉ ET RÉGIME SUCCESSORAL*. By René Worms. Paris: Payot et Cie, 1917.

FROM 1801 to 1810, the average number of births per thousand of the population in France was 33 per annum. For the decade 1901 to 1910 the average was 20.25; and in each intermediate decade the fall continued, though it was sometimes less rapid. It is true that the increase in longevity which also characterized this period would have the effect of making the number of births appear to decrease, that to obtain perfectly significant figures we should take the number of women of child-bearing age and not the total population; but this correction would not reverse so decisive a fall. It is not surprising that this diminution of births should cause much searching of heart in France, all the more as the population is now almost stationary; nor that a great variety of remedies should be proposed. On one point only there seems general agreement: that the diminution is voluntary and intentional, and is not due to any decline of the natural fertility of the French.

The present work discusses only one of these varied remedies—the proposal of Le Play to alter the French law of succession. Once before, when early in the eighteenth century the population was thought to be

declining—a decline which M. Worms attributes to the misfortunes of the closing years of Louis XIV.—Montesquieu also found the cause in the law of succession. But while he sought the abolition of the law of primogenitive, which still ruled in the descent of feudal properties, Le Play, on the contrary, proposed the establishment of full liberty of bequest, and the abrogation of the reserve which must be divided among the children of the deceased. This our author strongly deprecates, both as ineffective for its purpose and opposed to the French passion for equality. He shows, however, that a Sociologist even greater than Le Play had already advocated liberty of bequest; but Comte, who, as M. Worms reminds us in an instructive comparison, was a product of the same environment as Le Play and had many points of resemblance as well as divergence—the two being really complementary rather than opposed—looked upon property as a trust, not for future generations of the family of the owner, but for future generations of mankind, and was aiming especially at the handing on of that trust to the fittest holder. He was thinking of the reform of industry, while Le Play hoped at once to check depopulation, to strengthen the paternal authority, and to revive the stock family (*famille souche*), which he considered the best form of that institution. To effect these purposes, he thought the establishment of freedom of bequest the chief means—or at least that the law of equal partition was the chief cause of the decline of the birth-rate. M. Worms insists with great force that Le Play was mistaken in identifying the *famille souche* as he found it in some corners of the Pyrenees, where there is unbroken continuity around the head of the family, without initiative or emigration to distant places, with the adventurous Anglo-Saxon family, where union and continuity are singularly wanting. He has produced an ideal family by a confusion of divergent types. Nor is it certain that the *famille souche* with its considerable number of bachelors and spinsters is really favourable to population. Moreover, in the opinion of our author, the relation of the decline of the birth-rate to the French law of succession is not proved. In the first place, the example of other countries does not support Le Play's contention. In Belgium the birth-rate of the Walloon provinces is much lower than that of the Flemish, though both are under the French law of succession. In Germany, the districts which are under the *Anerbenrecht*, designed to keep small agricultural properties in a single hand, do not show any special characteristics as regards the statistics of population. In England and the United States which enjoy liberty of bequest, the birth-rate for some time has been declining, while the circumstances of Canada and some parts of Mexico are too peculiar to allow of comparison with France. Secondly, Le Play was mistaken in thinking that liberty of bequest was the rule in France before the Revolution. It was only so in those provinces which were *pays de droit écrit* derived from the Roman law. In the *pays de droit coutumier*, comprising the greater part of France, while primogeniture ruled in nobiliary tenures, in *tenures roturières*, which had become at the end of the ancient régime, the more numerous and important, a part varying from province to province was reserved for equal division among the children. In neither form of tenure was there complete liberty of bequest and there was no change at the Revolution sufficient to account for the subsequent decline of the birth-rate.

The immediate causes of the fall of the birth-rate our author finds in very different directions. In Spain it is still high, though slightly declining; and it is high because religious ideas and family union are still

strong, country life with its old traditions still predominates, while there is widespread ignorance and thriftlessness. In France, the smallest families are found among the educated and the thrifty. The women dislike child-bearing, the men grudge the expense of children. No doubt these motives are very strong; but I am not quite convinced that in particular classes, those of peasant proprietors and the owners of modest workshops, the desire to avoid the partition of the farm or the break-up of the business may not have some effect. M. Worms adduces as an argument against this, that the usual French family consists of two and not one child; but this really strengthens the opposite view. A man with one son and one daughter can secure two-thirds of his property to the former, and may hope that the son will obtain enough by his wife's dowry to make up for the loss of his sister's portion. The larger the family the more difficult and the less likely would this be. But it is not certain that a change in the law of succession would really change the habits of the people. Those who now refrain from having large families in order to avoid the break-up of property might do so then from a desire to avoid the impoverishment of those children who would not succeed to the farm or business. In any case, in view of the very general character of the decline throughout the civilized world, it is impossible to affirm that its *chief* cause lies in the French law of succession.

Although M. Worms thus discounts the remedy proposed by Le Play, he is himself much distressed by the fall in the French birth-rate. Nor will any one in these islands—now, as we hope, permanently allied with France—fail to desire that the great French nation—so long the champion of freedom and enlightenment—should increase and multiply. But I am not sure that our author's regrets will seem founded on convincing reasons. He admits that the position of the workers has improved and that this has been up to now an advantage, but apparently just at the moment he is writing the balance of advantage has turned, the proletariat is beginning to get too much, and the masters are in danger of impoverishment, to the ruin of the general prosperity. It may be so, but the usual experience has been that increased wages can be paid by improved methods, and are themselves a source of increased business, while it is probable that the masters would have urged the same objection at much earlier stages of the process. Moreover, it is an argument necessarily ineffective: the masters, who alone would be convinced by it, will not desire to increase their supply of labour by increasing the number of children in their own class; the workers will not produce children in order to prevent a further rise of wages. Nor does the fundamental reason which M. Worms assigns for the fall of the birth-rate, viz. the increase of individualism with the consequent weakening of the claims of family and country seem so very obvious. Has the French nation shown itself in the last two years so very ready to prefer individual profit to public service? Has any generation of Frenchmen sacrificed itself more readily than France might live? Is there any recorded case where the interests of the present have been more willingly subordinated to those of the future? M. Worms draws an alarming picture of France losing her place among the nations, and being laid bare to the attacks of more prolific enemies. He tells us that in 1700 she had 38 per cent. of the population of all the great powers. Yet then she was hurrying to disaster. In 1912 she had only 10 per cent.; and now she is marching to victory. What greater glory could France have than that she should have so gained the trust and affection of all free nations, that all should come to die in her defence? It is at once more honourable and more safe to be

one of a great league of nations, than to stand alone threatening the liberties of Europe. The France of the Third Republic is greater than the France of Louis XIV or Napoleon.

S. H. SWINNY.

#### NEW IDEALS OF EDUCATION.

REPORT OF THE CONFERENCE ON NEW IDEALS IN EDUCATION, held at Oxford from July 29 to August 5, 1916. Price 2/- Secretary, 24, Royal Avenue, Chelsea.

ALL who are interested in the development of methods of education which shall put into practice something of what psychology now teaches us as to childhood and youth should get and read this report.

Amongst so much that is valuable it is difficult to select for special comment, but perhaps Mr. Henry Wilson's paper on "The Value and Importance of Handicraft in Education" puts with the greatest clearness the evils from which we are trying to escape, while it goes on to give us an inspiring picture of the sort of life and the sort of education for which we want to prepare the way. We cannot refrain from quoting here (pp. 41-43) :—

"Once in a dream, I found myself passing through a village in a hilly, well-wooded and watered country. The shapely hills, and swelling rounded fields were dotted with delightful dwellings which seemed to have crystallized naturally out of the soil, and yet were of a type quite new. The houses in the village built of new grey stone and roofed with it, were set each in a plot of well-kept land a little way back from the road.

Each house had a large room or workshop attached; and as I passed along I saw wheelwrights, cartwrights, and smiths, weavers, metal-workers, carpenters, joiners, turners and tool makers, all in full work. In each shop there was power supplied from some central source. In some of the workshops I saw groups of young learners, under the care of a workman, absorbed each in some simple task suited to his powers.

As I stood looking at them the workman saw me and offered to show me round the village and the schools. He led me first to the reading school, a spacious building whence proceeded the sound of music and cadenced voices. Entering a lofty room with an arched roof and high windows all along the sides, I found it full of children of all ages seated facing a stage on which tall screens hung with beautiful draperies from the village looms figured the enchanted chamber, wherein, on a low couch draped with white, a lovely child lay asleep. Her long hair flooded the pillow, and she was covered with a rich cloth sewn all over with birds and trees and stars, and leaping deer and woodland creatures.

All, the stage, the accessories, the costumes, were done by the scholars in their school time as their lessons. They were giving, so my guide told me, the ancient masque of Beauty's awakening, the product of far-off Victorian days.

A faint music filled the air; tall girls, each in fitting garb and bearing lighted lamps, entered and set themselves in guard behind the sleeper.

Groups of little children, dressed as leaves, danced round her until

the spirit of spring came with all her zephyrs and drove them away. Then entered Love, leading Life, clad as a worker, to the sleeper's side. As she knelt in worship a hidden choir sang: "Dim shows the golden earth while thou art sleeping, faint in our hearts thy beauty's image lies, wendy the watch, the waiting lamps are keeping, wake sweet one, wake and make me wise."

Beauty woke, the other characters trooped on to the stage and danced around her, then, to the sound of music, all fitted out of the hall, and school was over.

It appeared that the scholars did such things at frequent intervals, aided by the artists and the workers around them, and the school tasks for each season were all related to and subservient to the purpose of the play.

Leaving the school, we descended the hill, past groups of houses and workshops to which were attached various farm buildings, showing that the owners were as much farmers as craftsmen, until we came to the little river along whose course were many small saw-mills, timber yards and workshops, simply and beautifully built of the local materials by local labour with local methods. Each taking its motive power from the central electric station, a beautiful building half hidden among the trees, or from the stream direct, or else from the hydraulic power station on the hill. We passed by the little building in which we heard the slow beating of the hydraulic ram as it pumped the water to the reservoirs above.

We saw new houses being built; in one the owner himself and his boys, aided by a labourer and a carpenter, were doing all the work themselves. In a field behind, the mother and the girls were tending the crop, while the sheep dog guarded the cradle.

We passed quarries on the hill side, with masons' yards adjoining wherein there seemed to be classes for masonry and others for geology. We passed village stores, timber yards and foundries, until finally we came to another school such as I had never seen. Cruciform in plan, at the crossing came a dome of blue studded with twinkling stars in their constellations, which could be studied from the gallery beneath. In the centre hung an orrery showing the planetary movements. Round the walls were painted panels with the history of evolution, or figurative diagrams of the various sciences. All so simply done that a child might understand, yet decorative and beautiful. There were geologic and relief maps, maps of ores and minerals, of cultivation areas and racial distribution, but I could only dimly see them, for it was dusk and my whole attention was at once fixed on the teacher and the class, who sat together beneath the dome. A class of students just returned from the workshops, and they were grouped around the teacher.

It was getting darker, but high up in the dome the lamp that served for the sun gave all the light we needed, and I sat and heard one of the many legends of Eden told to show how beauty comes of pain and labour, for they had had a hard day in the shops and in the fields, and this was the hour of restorative learning."

This fascinating picture of the future makes us see that the type of education is correlative to the type of life offered to the people and that if we are to develop such an education it can only be as a preparation for a different type of civilization than ours, but a type of which we may

see the beginnings already in many directions, and which the war itself, it may be, will give us the opportunity of developing.

The paper by Mr. Arrowsmith, Headmaster of Mixenden Elementary School, a rural school near Halifax, marks such a beginning concealed under the somewhat unpromising title of "Physiological Education in an Elementary School." Here we find a school three and a half miles from Halifax, "900 feet above sea level, with surrounding hills 1,200 to 1,300 feet high, rugged, bare and of moorland character. The people work in the mills, in the quarries, on the milk farms, on the roads and as cart drivers." This school appears to carry out to a most remarkable extent the ideals expressed by Mr. Wilson. After the compulsory arithmetic lesson from 9.20 to 10, the mornings are given up to activities of all kinds—"cooking, gardening, sewing, bookbinding, woodwork, metal work, cardboard work, general outdoor work."

Toys are made for themselves and for the little ones, and useful work is done in garden, poultry yard and school. The next job the boys have in mind is the making of a swimming pool in the playground. "The afternoons are devoted to literature, art, music, dancing and rambles." "By literature is understood all forms of speaking, writing, reading, poetry and dramatic representation." The rambles are a vehicle for nature study.

"Our endeavour," says this remarkable headmaster, "is to synthesize the subjects of the curriculum, to make the life of the school fit more closely with the great cosmic rhythms of the seasons, of day and night, of sunrise and sunset, of vigorous morning and restful afternoon, to make school life, home life and village life one complete and rational whole."

Passing on to Miss Potter's very interesting account of the Coldecott Community, we find great stress laid on individual study of children and their different temperaments and dispositions. It is disappointing to read that the school has been moved from London to the country, where it is to be carried on as a boarding school. This seems a limitation of its usefulness, but perhaps it will also admit country children as day pupils?

Dr. Crowley's account of the open air school and its possibilities should not be overlooked, but much of what he recommends is done at such a school as Mixenden, though no doubt further modification of the type of buildings used there, as elsewhere, would be highly desirable.

All the papers giving accounts of what is being actually done in various schools and outside them are well worth reading, and we regret that time and space do not allow us to deal further with them and with Professor Geddes on Universities, and Professor Fleure on Regional Studies, but we recommend our readers to get the book and study it for themselves. And in supplement to the account of experimental initiatives in the Oxford Conference Report might be mentioned another of the same order described in the *Nineteenth Century and After* for April, 1917. The article is called "Courage in Education: an Elementary School Experiment," by Mrs. Clement Parsons, S. B.

DISTRIBUTIVE JUSTICE. By John A. Ryan, D.D. New York: Macmillan and Co., 1916. Price 6/6 net.

DR. RYAN adopts the fundamental proposition that human welfare is the ultimate test by which controversial questions as to natural rights must be judged. Thus the community has not, in his opinion, the right to



assume the ownership of all land, because such a measure would inflict hardship on the dispossessed that would be greater than the benefit to the community. On the other hand, he concludes that private ownership of land is a natural right (Chap. V.), although "private landownership is not directly necessary for the welfare of every individual" (p. 57). The welfare of the citizen "would not be adequately safeguarded if the State were to decide who might and who might not be landowners. In the first place, the ideal condition is that in which all persons can easily become actual owners. In the second place, the mere legal opportunity of becoming owners is a considerable stimulus to the energy and ambition of all persons, even of those who are more able to convert it into an economic opportunity" (p. 59). Although, however, Dr. Ryan is conservative on this point, he is prepared to go a considerable way in reform. He approves of the taxation of future increments in land value, and is in favour of municipalities retaining and, where possible, increasing the holdings they possess. He provides full justification for drastic action against monopolies.

In another chapter Dr. Ryan defines the canons of distributive justice to be six in number: arithmetical equality, proportional needs, effort and sacrifice, comparative productivity, relative scarcity, and human welfare. The first two are dismissed as impracticable. On the other hand, effort and sacrifice cannot be the guide in distribution, without consideration of needs, neither can productivity. Scarcity is approved as a good reason for superior rewards: "So far as society is concerned, . . . the practice pays" (p. 251). Human welfare, it is decided, "includes and summarizes all that is ethically and socially feasible in the five canons reviewed." "It would give to every producer sufficient remuneration to evoke his greatest net contribution to the productive process."

In regard to the duty of voluntary benevolence Dr. Ryan takes a stronger line. "When distress is grave . . . for example, when a man or a family is in danger of falling to a lower social plane; when health, morality, or the intellectual or religious life is menaced, possessors are required to contribute as much of their superfluous goods as is necessary to meet all such cases of distress. If all is needed, all must be given. . . . This seems to be the unanimous teaching of the moral theologians" (p. 309). It is true, the writer admits, that "only a small portion of the superfluous goods of the country could with advantage be immediately and directly distributed among needy individuals," but this does not exempt from the duty of giving, which should be translated into offerings to "religious and benevolent institutions and enterprises." In regard to wages, Dr. Ryan upholds the idea of a moral minimum, with the addition that labourers have a right to increase their wages by legal measures, trade union action or co-operative enterprise.

While there is nothing particularly original in this book, the attentive reader will probably become interested in the author's mentality and attitude. The complex effect produced on a candid and sincere nature by the ethical appeal of Christian idealism, qualified by the tendency of a historic Church to become a support of the existing order, is a subject in itself of perennial interest. We have here also the juxtaposition of Catholic theory and United States practice, with the result that a good deal of dramatic material seems to lurk between the prim boards of an academic treatise.

B. L. H.

THE CHILD AND THE WAR. By Cecil Leeson. P. S. King & Son. 1/- net.

AN American writer recently said, "The under privileged boy, in most communities of over 10,000 population, is safely estimated at 66 per cent." If this is so it helps us to understand the incidence and growth of juvenile delinquency. The working-class boy has never had the privileges of his age, never known what are the rights of a boy, and now, when the father, who was the link of the home with outside is away, "somewhere in France," or working late at munitions, the boy is too often finding his own "rights," and making new "privileges" in the darkened streets.

Mr. Leeson has known the life of a working boy, and here he sets out, not so much to account for the prevalence of boy "crime" as to find a way of making good use of the boy's energies. He first considers the facts, that 34 per cent more children were charged with punishable offences in three months of 1915 than of 1914, and that this is true in large towns generally. He also owns that these offences were of a worse kind.

In a survey of the causes he mentions the common absence of the father and often also of the mother working on munitions; the lad himself is working, and has grown a "swelled head"; the "slackness" of the mother in her loneliness, and perhaps prosperity; the family's moving to a worse locality, either to be near work or for cheapness sake; teachers who can control him have gone (and lady teachers are looked down on by boys in their early teens); there is abnormal demand for boy labour, and consequently they are released earlier from school; so many of the men who run boys' club are away in France; the regular police force is depleted; the spirit of the war makes the boy play at stealing till he really steals, under pretence that it is from the enemy; the "pictures" excite him and so on.

Thirdly, Mr. Leeson considers remedies. He emphasizes the need of many approaches. He says, "Give men decent homes, tackle the housing question, establish an adequate minimum wage, raise the school-leaving age, and have compulsory evening classes"; but he acknowledges that for the time being none of these is "practical politics," and something must be done at once. He suggests that more use should be made of the two kinds of workers who are now most available—women and ministers of religion. Women are not so useful to boys in their teens as young persons would be, if only, says Mr. Leeson, the parson could forget his cloth and be a "chum" to the lads. But there are some women—those with an experience of brothers—who could help, and this book should appeal to them. An excellent suggestion is that wounded soldiers, who have time on their hands, and whom these lads are ready to hear and obey, out of hero-worship, should be asked to help, by the "Councils," which Mr. Leeson would have formed in every town for the care of children during the war, not to deal with those who have done wrong, but to keep the boys and girls occupied and interested, for much of this crime in a well-to-do home would be recognized as "naughtiness."

Apart from all that Mr. Leeson has written, a problem that has often occurred to workers among children is, how much "wrong-doing" is to be accounted for on physical reasons alone? For almost every kind of crippleddom (for instance) there would seem to be a peculiar bent of mind. Has this been enough taken into account when talking of "delinquency"? The child who has had hip disease, for instance, is notable for two things; he has an abnormal patience and courage, and he is the most daring of mischief-inventors. The spinal child has a weird "other-worldliness"

that sometimes makes him the angel and sometimes the imp! And the conceit of the lad or girl who has a paralysed limb, and yet has "made good," is almost pathetic. Have such a child as office-boy, and you will find him the most important person in the place (this might be borne in mind when trying to estimate that very puzzling character, the present German Emperor!)

Have these things been rightly considered in weighing up the causes and remedies for juvenile "Delinquency"? It seems that every juvenile court as well as a sympathetic judge and a good probation officer should have some expert on the diseases of children present, and certainly such experts should have a place on all Mr. Leeson's projected Councils.

"The Child and the War" is an important book, and ought to be studied not only from the point of view of the reformer, but of the social student also.

M. C.

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LIVERPOOL SOCIAL WORKERS' HANDBOOK. Prepared for the Liverpool Council of Voluntary Aid by Frederic G. D'Aeth, M.A. Liverpool: Gledsdale and Jennings. 1/- net.

WHAT "The Charities Digest" is for the whole country this guide is for the city of Liverpool; and it is all that intensive study of a large town could make it. Mr. D'Aeth has so arranged the matter that the student can easily compare the social welfare institutions managed by public bodies with those which are under private government, and thus be able to enter into the co-operative movement between the two sets of workers that has been humanizing officials and giving philanthropists a business training within the last few years. At the end of the book there is a map of the wards of the city followed by a register of the institutions belonging to each that will be most helpful to those sociologists of Liverpool who believe that local effort is more educative than action initiated by the state.

# THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOL. IX.

AUTUMN, 1917.

## SOME ASPECTS OF THE INFANT WELFARE QUESTION.

A CORRELATION is popularly assumed between the prosperity of a nation and a large and growing population. But clearly prosperity is before all a question of the nation's efficiency, and the efficiency of a nation may be taken as a function of two variables, quantity and quality. But what is the interrelation of these two, and what analysis of quality can be made? There seems good reason to believe that up to a point quality does actually increase with quantity; that, in fact, human beings are so constituted psychologically that a certain amount of pressure to live is necessary in order to develop the greatest efficiency. The question arises how much, what kind of pressure, and when and how applied in individual life history. If it be contended, in the history of nations, that it is quantity mainly that counts, how was it that a handful of Greeks saved Europe for Western civilization when they withstood the Persian hordes; and how is it that another handful of citizens in a hill fort of Palestine, has had such an abiding effect in the world?

One of the fundamental difficulties in the problem of the large family is that of education. The realization that a child should be properly taught a trade brings one immediately up against the fact that often the family from which that child has come has from the first been organised on the assumption that each child will earn the highest possible wage at the earliest possible age, in order to help maintain the family as a whole. This is inconsistent with the idea of a thorough training, and in consequence the idea of training has to be dropped, with the result that the child in its turn grows up inefficient.

Such an example, so general and so common as to be hardly worth while bringing forward, but yet so insistent, does seem to suggest that the size of such families is a contributory cause of inefficiency. That in fact in certain classes we are finding that density of number has so increased that the total efficiency is decreasing, owing to a considerable falling off in average efficiency. Quality increases with quantity up to a point, and then diminishes with any further increase of quantity, always supposing other con-

ditions have remained unaltered. In short, such observations lead towards a broad acceptance, but modification in detail, of Spencer's generalization that Individuality varies inversely with Reproduction.

There is one important factor which must always be kept in view in considering the Infant Welfare problem. With men whose incomes do not often exceed throughout their lives, say, 30/- a week, that is, with the unskilled and semi-skilled classes, the prosperity curve would be seen to have two periods. Such men marry young, probably at about the age of 22, when their wages are not perhaps quite the highest they are going to earn, but at the same time are not far short of that figure. For the first few years of their married lives there may be a slight increase in prosperity owing to a slight increase in wages, an increase that more than counterbalances the growth in the size of the family. After this the family shows a tendency to increase quite out of proportion to the increase of wages, and thus comes a fall in prosperity, gradual but generally well defined, and lasting until the eldest child is old enough to earn. As soon as that occurs the prosperity curve begins to rise again, and probably continues to do so until the children attain to a marrying age. The first period is one of about fourteen years, and the second probably rather shorter owing to the tendency in such a class to marry very young, but a period that will largely depend in duration on the size of the family. A man therefore marries at about 22, knowing that from then until he is about 40 are the years during which his earnings are likely to be highest. When he is himself about 37 his eldest child is ready to earn, and from 37 to 47 he can again be assured of a fair amount of comfort. If his family is a large one this second period may last much longer. Thus there is one strong inducement for such a man to marry young and to have a large family, for, provided he can get over the first period when prosperity is falling and in spite of this rear his children, then the rest of his life may be fairly assured. Needless to say the natural optimism of individuals is usually sufficient to cause them to believe that the chance of a long period of prosperity when they are older quite out-balances the chance of an acute period of distress before they are 35.

To all this it may be replied that individuals of such a class do not reason in that way. But they may well come to act in this manner from a realization that it is better to do so. They may see the man who waits to marry till he is 35, who will be about 50 before his eldest child can be ready to start earning, having a very hard time because his wages are reduced before he has a child old enough to help. The man in question may have a much smaller family and yet find his first period of distress

acute; whereas the second period of prosperity is likely to be of shorter duration because the number of his children is less.

It is admitted that the conclusions drawn in this article are obtained from but a slight basis of statistics. But it is hoped their publication may encourage others who have at their disposal information similar to that here used, to examine it critically.

The area that has been studied for the purposes of this enquiry is a part of the East End of London, a part well known for its overcrowded condition. The families under consideration are by no means the poorest in that area. They are families who, of their own free will, attend an infant consultation; and it must be admitted that the majority of mothers who are sufficiently advanced to appreciate the opportunity of having their babies weighed and carefully examined by a doctor each week, are women of a fairly high order of intelligence.

From this point of view the figures are particularly useful in that any suggestions that may be drawn from them apply to what one might describe as a type of family of high social importance. The clinic in question is run on the principle of giving away nothing but advice, and thus the women do not come to see what they can get in kind. Certainly for the period covered by the figures the families as a whole cannot be considered to be in financial difficulties, although there are, of course, among them individual instances of women whose lives appear one long series of worries.

The papers of this particular clinic supply much valuable information, as to the ages at which the parents have married, the number of children born, the number of abortive pregnancies. Added to which there is much information of value to the social worker as to earnings, rent, number of rooms occupied, and the number of occupants.

Here it must be pointed out that the information is supplied by the mothers themselves, and thus the personal equation must be allowed for. There is the woman who likes to make out that her husband does better than is actually the case, and there is the woman who has got into the habit of always representing herself harder up than she is. These two classes probably counter-balance one another. If there are children earning, then we have the utmost difficulty in obtaining anything like accurate information as to the family earnings. There are also a few who refuse to give any information at all, as in the case of one woman who, when asked what her husband's earnings were, replied, "Well, I've been married to him all these years and I wouldn't think of asking him such a thing."

In consequence of such factors as these various families have



had to be rejected, and this has reduced the actual number of cases on which the results are based.

It seemed necessary at first, in view of the popular cry of the need for more population, to see if any connection could be traced between the child's chances of growing to be an adult and the rapidity with which the children in any family followed one-another into the world. Does a rapidly increasing family take toll of the mother's health to the extent of decreasing her re-productive efficiency? If so, can we trace the effect on an increased rate of infant mortality? Herein of course are many complications, for the rapidly growing family may mean an ill-housed family, and also ill fed, which may influence the child's chances of life as much as does the lack of strength of the mother, and may even be the main cause in producing the ill-health of the mother, which is attributed to the effect of the rapidly recurring pregnancies. Quite how to separate these factors is difficult to decide, but it seemed that some such separation might be arrived at by making two different examinations. In the one set the miscarriages were not included, while in the other set they were, for in the latter the health of the mother would be exerting a greater influence than in the former. This distinction having been made, all families, no matter what their size, were considered; then separately were considered the families in which there were five children or more, and those in which there were less than this number.

Taking the families of five children or more, in 69 out of 95, that is to say in 72% of them, the average time between the births did not exceed two years; in 28 cases, that is in rather more than a quarter, one and a half years or less was all the time that elapsed between the births. When this short period is coincident with a large family we find a high percentage of infant mortality, in fact considerably higher than when the families are still small. This is seen in the following tables:—

Time between births	% of deaths. Families of 5 ch. or more.		% of deaths. Families of under 5 ch.		% of deaths. All families.
One year and under ...	46.5	...	32.1	...	35.1
Over 1 year, under 1½	35.5	...	18.8	...	30.3
Over 1½ years, under 2	32.9	...	15.2	...	23.4
Over 2 years, under 2½	15.0	...	16.0	...	14.8
Over 2½ years, under 3	12.7	...	5.0	...	11.6

In the above tables miscarriages have not been included, and we see, with one exception, and probably not a very important one, a very steady decline in mortality as the period between the births increases. The very sharp fall for the large families and for all families taken together that occurs when the period between

the births is more than 2 years seems to suggest that, both with large families and with small, the chances of life are greater if the time elapsing between the births is longer. Further, the fact that the fall in mortality occurs much earlier in the case of the small family than it does in the case of the large seems to suggest that exhaustion of the mother is a powerful influence; for, when all families are considered together, the quite small and the large, the effects of over-crowding and under-feeding would tend to be less than would be the case when only large families were under survey.

By drawing up a similar series of tables in which, however, abortive births are included, the following figures were obtained :—

Time between births.	% of deaths. Families of 5 ch. or more.	% of deaths. Families of under 5 ch.	% of deaths. All families.
One year and under...	46.5	36.0	38.6
Over 1 year, under 1½	35.2	22.1	30.1
Over 1½ years, under 2	26.0	23.0	22.8
Over 2 years, under 2½	16.4	24.7	21.4
Over 2½ years, under 3	15.7	2.5	11.1

Here, except in the case of the small family, we find the same steady decline, and it would therefore be as well to consider the exception first. The figure 24.7 is in all probability unduly high, as perhaps 2.5 is unduly low. When the number of families under consideration is small this is quite likely to happen, and the total number of families of less than 5 children for which there was sufficient data was only 99. But even as the figures stand there is a decline sufficiently great to at least suggest that the state of the mother's health is here an important factor.

If now the two series of tables are compared we find, that for quite short periods between the births, the tendency is for the figures in the second series to range higher. This of course one would naturally expect, for the inclusion of the abortive birth would naturally raise the mortality rate. It is doubtful, however, if this in itself would be sufficient to account for the very striking difference between the two tables for small families, especially when these are compared with the two tables for families of five or more children. There is no very important difference in the latter pair, whereas in the former, in which bad housing and under-feeding have much less chance of operating, the difference is considerable. Surely, then, we have some reason for concluding that the high mortality rate is in part due to the fact of the mother being exhausted by too rapid child bearing, resulting in the children who are born alive, not being really healthy from birth. This argument, however, can only be complete when the health of survivors is carefully considered, and it is hoped in the future

to gather sufficient information as to the general health of the large family to show more decidedly whether or no such families have a real chance of developing into efficient adults.

All this may, however, appear somewhat speculative, for there are other powerful factors that cause high mortality, which factors must be considered. Can we then in dealing with the same families find any direct relation between mortality and income? Here, again, difficulties are met, because the present incomes are war incomes, and the children who have died may have died when the family circumstances were very different. At the moment by far the greater number of the families under consideration were earning from 25/- to 35/- a week, clearly showing that these families are not of the poorest. The mortality, as compared with earnings, is as follows:—

Earnings per week.	Mortality.
15/- and under 20/- ... ..	17 %
20/- " " 25/- ... ..	25 %
25/- " " 30/- ... ..	18.7 %
30/- " " 35/- ... ..	26 %
35/- " " 40/- ... ..	22 %
40/- and above ... ..	8.5 %

which results are altogether too erratic to make any conclusions possible.

Next, then, we may turn to the important question of housing, and here in all probability the best test of the type of housing afforded for each member of the family is to divide the whole rent paid by the total number of occupants. This appears to me to be better than merely to consider the number of occupants per room, for a large airy room can better stand the strain of too many people than perhaps can two inferior rooms; moreover, the actual rent paid in any given area bears a decided relation to the type of accommodation for that area. Dealt with in this manner the relation between mortality of children and the type of accommodation is expressed in the following table:—

Rent per week, per person (in shillings).	Mortality.
0.5 and under 0.75 ... ..	22 %
0.75 " " 1.0 ... ..	18.6 %
1.0 " " 1.5 ... ..	18.4 %
1.5 " " 2.0 ... ..	9.8 %
2.0 " " 2.5 ... ..	14.4 %
2.5 " " 3.0 ... ..	10.0 %

Here we have a sufficiently striking table. The exceptional figure 9.8 has to be accounted for; it can hardly be due to the fact that the magic amount to pay per week per person in rent is 1/6,

though here the mortality for 21 cases was only 5 %. But putting aside this exceptional figure we do obtain a considerable decline in infant mortality as the amount paid in rent for each member of the family increases, clearly showing, that which is already so well recognised, that the people are insufficiently housed to give their children a fair chance of life; and if this be considered in conjunction with the fact that incomes bear no relation to the size of the family, we realize that the reason for this bad accommodation is an inability to pay for better. That the incomes have no relation to the size of the family is seen in the following table dealing with the same families:—

No. of children.					Average income (in shillings).
2	...	...	...	...	29.7
3	...	...	...	...	32.6
4	...	...	...	...	29.0
5	...	...	...	...	29.4
6	...	...	...	...	28.3
7	...	...	...	...	29.0
8	...	...	...	...	30.7
9	...	...	...	...	28.0
10	...	...	...	...	25.0

Here we have a remarkably slight variation, and the table clearly indicates that the large family does not have any more to live upon than does the small, which in itself is sufficient to show the inability of parents to house their children in a way in which such children should be housed. In fact, the parents are unable to take on more rooms or to move to larger rooms in order to accommodate their growing families. The children are born in spite of the parents knowing full well that they will be quite unable to supply these children with anything like the minimum of housing necessary to give them a chance of a healthy life. In spite of the average earnings of the families here surveyed being relatively high, over-crowding, with the usual relation to infant mortality, is to be seen.

No. of occupants per room.		Mortality %.		Mortality %.	
		All families.		Families of 3 ch. or more.	
1 person, and under	...	5	...	10	...
Under 1.5 persons over 1	...	14.4	...	16.7	...
Under 2 persons, over 1.5	...	21.0	...	26.5	...
Under 2.5 persons, over 2	...	17.0	...	21.0	...
Under 3 persons, over 2.5	...	21.5	...	26.6	...
Under 4 persons, over 3	...	21.5	...	26.0	...

How far then can we argue that the infant mortality rate is dependent on bad housing conditions, and how far dependent on the rapidity of the recurrence of pregnancy? This question can be

in no way definitely answered, but an attempt to do so may be made by considering the families of 5 children or more. With such families, of those among whom the infant mortality rate was 25 % or more, 37 % of them paid a rent that amounted to less than 10d. per head per week, whereas the same rate of rent was paid by 36 % of those among whom the mortality rate was less than 25 %. Further, 55 % of those with an infant mortality rate greater than 25 % were paying a rent of less than 1/- per head, while 74 % of those with a mortality rate of less than 25 % paid this rent.

Or, using a different basis, 47 % of those whose mortality rate was  $> 30$  % were paying less than 10½d. per head per week in rent, whereas this was paid by 53 % of those where mortality rate was  $< 30$  %. And 58 % of those with a mortality rate  $> 30$  % pay 1/- per head or less, as compared with 69 % of those whose mortality rate is  $< 30$  %.

Thus, with the large family, it certainly appears that some force other than housing is influencing the chances of the child's life, and from the previous tables it may fairly be suggested that the rapidly recurring pregnancy is this force.

So many schemes for the preservation of child life are now being suggested that one trembles a little to think what the results may be. In the Report on Child Mortality (Cd. 8496.) that has just been issued,<sup>1</sup> we find in Section XI the usual statement reiterated that large families are nationally desirable, and I venture to suggest, as many others have also done, that this is a statement that requires critical examination.

NORA MILNES.

1. April, 1917.

MONEY-LENDING AMONG THE LONDON POOR.<sup>1</sup>

By V. DE VESSELITSKY AND M. E. BULKLEY.

So many books and articles have been written on the subject of how the poor live that it would seem perhaps, that there is little to add to the existing stock of knowledge on this question. There is, however, one aspect about which very little appears to be known, namely, the prevalence of borrowing among this class. There are several well-known methods to which recourse may be had when the family finances are depleted. The rent may be allowed to fall into arrears, the household possessions may find their way to the dealer or the pawnshop, or, if the family's standing is sufficiently good, credit may be obtained from the local shopkeeper. But there is another method, far less well known and far more baleful in its results, viz., recourse to a money-lender. It was to ascertain how far this practice prevails and upon what terms the use of money can be obtained by the poor, that we undertook the present inquiry.

It is perhaps advisable first to say a word as to the method we adopted. It was obviously impracticable to make visits with the sole object of ascertaining whether the family had had recourse to a money-lender, since this question had to be led up to carefully, and anything in the nature of a house-to-house inquiry was therefore out of the question. The only practicable method was to select households which were being visited in connection with some other object, and then, in the course of the usual inquiries into the family circumstances, to lead the conversation to the subject of borrowing. The names were taken mainly from two sources: the list of applicants for relief from the Prince of Wales's fund, including cases recommended for the workrooms, and the list of "dental cases" in connection with the School Care Committee. They were practically all householders, and might be described as fairly respectable, no occupants of furnished rooms being included. The district chosen was Limehouse.

There were, of course, impediments to the inquiry in the atmosphere of secrecy and gloom which envelopes the subject of loans, and the people's disinclination to give any information concerning them is in striking contrast to the readiness—one might almost say the pride—with which pawntickets are displayed. While her hands are full of these credentials of respectability the applicant breaks out with, "No, Miss, I never drink!" when the word

1. This article is the result of an inquiry undertaken by the Ratan Tata Foundation (University of London).



borrowing is mentioned. Thinking that she must be hard of hearing, the question is repeated, only to call forth a fresh outburst of pained protest. Sometimes the question is conducive to merriment, and, chuckling with delight at her perspicacity, the applicant declares that, whatever others may do, she "ain't one of them what is going to bite off her own nose just to put more money into the pockets of them what lends it." Some doubtless deny the fact of borrowing through fear of prosecution and imprisonment; others resent the imputation as a stain upon their good name; but in many cases reticence was rather due to consideration for their benefactor, "a poor woman who lets us have money when we needs it," doing it only to oblige her neighbours, and who, of course, cannot afford the fee for registration, without which no one may lawfully practise the business of money-lending. One had to tread warily, moreover, for in trying to unearth a borrower one might stumble unexpectedly upon a lender. We conversed with one woman on the subject of money-lending in general for a whole hour and then suddenly discovered that she had been carrying on the business of lending herself for many years.

Out of the first hundred women visited no less than forty-seven admitted to being or having been in the hands of money-lenders; ten others said they had borrowed money but were paying no interest, a statement which must be accepted with reservations (we found that some borrowers did not understand what the term "interest" meant); eight borrowed from loan clubs;<sup>1</sup> thirty-two declared they did not borrow, though they were in the habit of pawning their belongings; while three neither borrowed nor pawned. The number in the hands of money-lenders is, however, undoubtedly greater than these figures would point to. It is a curious fact that the proportion who admitted to borrowing was greater among the "dental cases"—which would at first sight seemed a less fruitful source for purposes of the inquiry—than among the applicants for assistance from the Prince of Wales's Fund. There is reason to believe that several of the latter denied that they were in debt, since this admission might prejudice their chance of obtaining relief.

The numbers visited are, of course, too small to generalize from, but the figures suggest, at any rate, that the practice of borrowing is carried on to a very great extent. How serious the matter is will be apparent when we consider the terms on which it is possible for these very poor to obtain the use of money. There are two

1. These loan clubs seem to enjoy considerable popularity. The members take shares, involving a weekly contribution, and can obtain loans, usually on more favourable terms than those granted by a money-lender. The funds of the club, i.e., the balance of the members' deposits, and the profit obtained from interest on loans, are shared out at the end of the year.

systems of money-lending. A lump sum may be advanced which is repayable by weekly instalments. Interest is then usually deducted beforehand, at the rate of from 1s. 6d. to 4s. or even 5s. in the pound. Thus if a money-lender advances £1, the borrower receives, perhaps, only 17s. 6d., 2s. 6d. being deducted for interest; the loan is repayable in sums of, say, 1s. a week. The interest charged is considerable—it is, of course, more than 32½ per cent. per annum (2s. 6d. on £1 for twenty weeks), for the borrower does not obtain the use of the whole sum for the whole period, but is constantly repaying it, and, moreover, has to pay the interest in advance. And there are other charges, fines for delay in repayment, charges for letters, and so on. The usual fine for delay is ½d. in the shilling a week for each instalment overdue, but sometimes as much as 1d. in the shilling is demanded. A charge of 2d. or 3d. is made for each letter, and, if the borrower does not answer immediately and the lender has to write to the securities an additional charge of perhaps 6d. is made.

This system of lending is much more favourable to the borrower than the other method, and is considered much more respectable. It is, however, only open to the better class of borrower, who can show a clear rent-book or give some reasonable security. Borrowers who can offer no such security must fall back upon the less reputable and far more disastrous method—though in its beginnings it looks so easy—of borrowing a shilling or two at a time. The usual practice is to borrow the money on a Monday and repay it with interest on the following Saturday. The interest is almost invariably 1d. in the shilling;<sup>1</sup> that is, at the rate of 608½ per cent. per annum. Sometimes it is as much as 2d. or even 3d. in the shilling, but as a rule a would-be borrower would prefer to apply for relief than pay such a rate, especially at the present time, when so many forms of assistance are available. Borrowers who allow themselves to be victimised to such an extent are "superior" folk, who are too proud to apply for relief, or, it may be, wives who have borrowed without their husband's knowledge and have to borrow afresh on any terms to pacify their first creditor; often they are wastrels who want money for drink or gambling and can obtain it by no other means.

A penny in the shilling, it may be remarked, is the rate of interest payable on Saturday, or whatever day the money may have been borrowed. A shilling borrowed on Friday must be repaid with a 1d. interest the following day. If the principal is not repaid

1. We have met with one case where it was only ½d., but this was exceptional. There is some evidence to show that money can be borrowed on easier terms than formerly. The older women questioned frequently spoke of a rate of 2d. in the shilling, the younger ones usually 1d.

till Monday, the interest is 2d. in the shilling, even if the debt was only contracted on the Friday.

Who is the money-lender to whom the borrower turns in his or her need? It may be a company formed for the express business of money-lending; or a small shopkeeper who combines money-lending with his other ostensible business of feather-curling, green-grocery, or the hiring-out of garments; it may be a friend or relative of the publican, who stands by the side of the bar ready to oblige a customer; it may be "a woman who goes about selling tea" or "the woman who keeps the tan factory across the road"; often one can obtain no more explicit information than that it is "a woman round the corner," or "a woman like myself across the street." The male money-lender usually deals in larger sums, granting loans of one or more pounds, while the female lender more frequently deals in shillings (the terms granted are, however, no more advantageous on the larger than on the smaller amounts, interest at the rate of 1s. 8d. in the pound (*i.e.* 1d. in the shilling) being the usual amount charged per week). The women are apparently sometimes the agents of the loan companies obtaining a commission on the business they transact; sometimes they would appear to be middle-women, borrowing money themselves at a lower rate and lending it out again at a higher rate; sometimes they are merely women of a thrifty disposition, who have saved money and thus turn it to a profitable use, or soldiers' wives who find themselves unexpectedly in possession of a surplus income;<sup>1</sup> or they may be friends or relatives of the borrower. Under the Money-lenders' Act of 1900 all who carry on the business of money-lending must register themselves, but, as might be expected, a large proportion of these women are not registered.

It may be of interest to consider now in some detail the economic circumstances of the borrowers, the reasons which prompted them to have recourse to this method of obtaining money, and the results of this borrowing.

We find, in the first place, that our forty-seven borrowers are, with only two exceptions, all married people. It is not apparently that widows do not try to borrow, but theirs is usually the hopeless poverty on which the most enterprising money-lender is not willing to hazard her savings. Some modicum of security must be forthcoming in the shape of men-folk capable of earning. Thus a woman who is in the habit of borrowing constantly told us that she cannot obtain a loan unless her husband is in work or has immediate prospects of work. From the point of view of the money-lender the most profitable victim is the conscientious

1. We met with three cases where soldiers' wives had taken to money-lending since the outbreak of the war, and were making a flourishing business out of their separation allowance.

muddler wedded to the lazy brute who yet can do an occasional day's work, or, most fruitful source of extortion of all, the wife who contracts debts without her husband's knowledge and lives in terror of his finding out.

From the horror with which applicants for relief repudiated the suggestion of borrowing one might imagine that loans were usually contracted for some sinister purpose of which even a beggar should be ashamed. It appeared, however, that in the majority of cases the object was harmless or even laudable, and that the first loan often represented a clumsy attempt at independence—the desire to escape from a pauper funeral, to keep the children off the school meals list, to buy a pair of boots for the mother or a suit of clothes for the eldest boy, who cannot go out to work in his habitual rags, or to purchase little extras in times of sickness. Out of our forty-seven cases, in only three was the money needed for what might be called a business purpose. A hotel waiter borrowed £30 to start a shop for his wife; a cabinet maker, when in receipt of an order, was obliged to borrow money to purchase the necessary material; while a ferryman had recourse to a money-lender to obtain the means of repairing his boat. In three cases the loan was contracted to meet the funeral expenses of an uninsured member of the family. In two cases the absconding of an unscrupulous lodger left a deficit in the household finances. But in the great majority of cases the money was needed to meet the current expenses of house-keeping, it might be through illness, strikes, or the failure of a firm, or the high prices of food and fuel occasioned by the war; but far more often the cause was chronic—the casual employment of the breadwinner, his permanent ill-health or disablement, or the bad management of the wife. Casual employment, indeed, was the prevailing factor. Though, for instance, the primary reason may have been bad management, yet this was really a result of the irregularity of the income which rendered economical housekeeping almost impossible.

Unfortunately, so heavy is the rate of interest that, when once a debt has been contracted, it becomes increasingly difficult for the borrower to escape from the lender's clutches. Many of those who were first driven to borrowing through some temporary misfortune have since become chronic debtors. The debt of a shilling or two mounts up till it becomes literally several pounds. At first sight, borrowing seems such an easy way out of a difficulty. On a Monday morning, when every available bit of clothing has passed over into the pawnshop and yet the rent money is still a shilling short, the mother of a family hails with delight the appearance of a friend who magnanimously holds out the coveted shilling on the understanding that thirteen pence will be restored to her on the Saturday. Only a penny for interest! This penny seems at the

moment a very paltry sum with which to repay so signal a service, and on the following Saturday the borrower hastens to fulfil her promise. Then comes Monday: there is nothing left to pawn, so that a larger sum is needed; two or three shillings are obtained on the same terms, and are repaid again with interest and gratitude on the Saturday. Gradually a larger and larger sum is borrowed each Monday. Then comes an unlucky week when the husband's earnings are reduced almost to nothing, and, overwhelmed with shame, the debtor has to implore her creditor to accept the interest unaccompanied by the return of the principal. The generous money-lender agrees to this, and is even willing to increase the loan, which from now on is no longer repaid on a Saturday, but becomes a standing debt.<sup>1</sup> Eventually £5, £6, £7 will have been spent in interest, while the debt, now amounting to perhaps £3, is still unrepaid; then come the weeks when the interest itself is difficult to find, and the unpaid arrears go to swell the debt, and again call forth fresh interest. To quiet her creditor, who now assumes a threatening attitude, it is necessary to borrow from other money-lenders, who may charge 2d. or even 3d. or 4d. in the shilling. These new creditors also begin to agitate for repayment. Then come the sleepless nights and the days filled with terror and despair until suicide looms up as the only means of escape.

This is no fancy picture. Mrs. L. borrowed a small sum on the usual terms of a 1d. in the shilling. Debt and interest kept on increasing till she was nearly driven mad by the worry. One day she disappeared and the neighbours all thought that she had drowned herself. Happily for her peace of mind, after she had paid £5 10s. in interest on a loan of £3, the money-lender died, thus releasing her from the necessity of repaying the principal. Another borrower had, however, no such means of escape. As usual, the original debt was for a trifling amount of only a few shillings. Mrs. X. was not a good manager, and, unable to make both ends meet on the sum her husband allowed her, and afraid to tell him of her difficulties, she had recourse to borrowing. The debt increased enormously, and in order to pay the weekly interest she had to borrow from other money-lenders. Finally, getting deeper and deeper into debt and seeing no hope of freedom from this burden, she hanged herself. Though these extreme cases are exceptional, we could cite not a few others where the debt had proved an ever-gnawing anxiety and a source of much misery. In fact, out of our forty-seven cases, in no fewer than twenty-one the results of borrowing must be characterized as distinctly harmful. By this we do not mean merely that much money was wasted—that

1. When the debt is not repaid each week, but is a standing one, the interest is reckoned from Monday to Monday. The rate (at 1d. in the shilling) is 43½ per cent. per annum.



criticism would apply to every one of the cases without exception—but that tragic complications ensued, leading to moral deterioration which cannot be measured in terms of £ s. d., the home broken up to meet the interest on the debt, hopelessness and despair on the part of the borrower, relations between husband and wife marred, and domestic harmony destroyed.

It may be asked, why do the borrowers submit to the payment of such a high rate of interest? Often there is no written agreement. (This is not due to the borrower's foresight, for these people are quite used to appending their names to documents which they have not read—perusing them would doubtless be considered a breach of etiquette—but the absence of any written agreement is necessary for the protection of the lender, who is carrying on the business without being registered.) And even when the transaction is legal the borrower could frequently obtain relief from the courts. There is in England no limit fixed by law to the amount of interest which may be charged, but by the Money-lenders' Act of 1900 it is provided that if there is evidence which satisfies the court that the interest or the amounts charged for expenses, inquiries, fines, etc., are excessive and that the transaction is harsh and unconscionable, the court may re-open the transaction and relieve the person sued from the payment of any sum in excess of what the court judges to be fairly due. When the amount of the debt has been paid two or three times over in interest in a short space of time, when, for instance, £4 has been paid in interest on a debt of 12s. in about eighteen months or £2 10s. on £2 in the same period—these are actual instances—the judge would presumably consider that enough had been paid to satisfy the creditor without the repayment of the principal. But the borrower is, as a rule, far too helpless and ignorant to dream of applying to the courts for protection. On the contrary, she lives in terror of prosecution by the lender. The latter is naturally more versed in the ways of the law and can successfully "dodge" its provisions. We were told of one money-lender who was always successful in any cases she brought into court, for her practice was to require a receipt for any money lent, but never to give the borrower a receipt for the interest paid on the loan, and the borrower was therefore unable to prove how much she had paid in interest. But, apart from the fear of prosecution, the debtor, unfortunately for her peace of mind, frequently possesses what she calls her "principles." There is a touch of dignity in the way one of these hopeless muddlers, when questioned as to the existence of any written understanding, will answer, "Just my word." Frequently, of course, the borrower takes her liabilities lightly, adapts herself to the situation and learns to "let things go," but it is astonishing in how many cases the borrower's "principles" endure the strain of paying the debt over



and over again in interest. In the case already mentioned, where £12 10s. was paid in interest on a loan of £2 in eighteen months, every penny of the original debt was then refunded. Some borrowers, though conscientious, are less long-suffering than others, and, after having repaid the debt two or three times over in interest, they ask to have it "turned into a loan," by which they mean that they should be allowed to refund the principal by weekly instalments, without paying any further interest. (This, it may be remarked, seems to be the generally accepted idea of a loan; curiously enough, a sum which is repayable in one amount and on which weekly interest is charged is not designated a "loan" at all.) Naturally the money-lender frequently objects to this course. One woman told us how, after disbursing large sums in interest, she had a miraculous dream in which she was instructed to pay back instalments of 2s. a week instead of continuing to pay interest on the debt. To her surprise the money-lender offered no objection and the debt was gradually wiped out. Even if the creditor will consent to the repayment of the principal by instalments only on condition that the debt is increased—for instance, if a debt of £1 10s. is turned into one of £2—the debtor would gain by the change. For although 10s. interest on £1 10s. seems a rather harsh bargain, yet it works out at a much lower figure than the apparently innocent penny in the shilling. A debt of £2 repayable within twenty weeks would only mean a payment of 2s. a week and then the debt is cleared, whereas £1 10s. borrowed on the weekly interest system means a payment of 2s. 6d. a week, and at the end of twenty weeks the repayment of the principal remains as remote as ever.

This "turning the debt into a loan" seems at first sight a very simple method to which the borrower can easily resort. If there is no written agreement the lender cannot enforce the continued payment of interest. But this reasoning overlooks an important factor in the situation. Though the lender cannot call the law to her aid there are other methods by which money can be successfully extracted from the debtor. Threats and abuse can be used and even physical force.

The opinion was constantly expressed to us that no one could be a successful lender who was not capable of administering a "hiding." It is only by bullying that these women can get their money back. "They frighten the life out of us," said one borrower, "and that is why we have to pay up." Another woman admitted that the interest had been literally shaken out of her by her creditor. Another who had paid up nearly the whole of her debt, but refused to pay any more interest on the balance of 3s. outstanding, told us that the money-lender had threatened to come and pay her out—"that means to 'it me,'" she explained. Another

woman who by a tremendous effort had reduced a debt of £1 to 6s. and was still striving to repay this, was sworn at and abused by the money-lender in the street; whereupon she argued that it was not worth while trying to sustain her reputation after she had been publicly insulted, so repudiated the balance of her debt. Whether the lender or the borrower gets the best of the bargain depends on which can offer the greater physical force or possesses the more lurid vocabulary. A powerful friend or relative is often a valuable asset. One woman who had meekly submitted to paying 1s. a week interest on a loan of 12s. for eighteen months at last managed to reduce the debt to 6s. Her husband then falling out of work, she found it impossible to repay this amount, and the debt, small as it seems to us, nearly drove her to despair. Fortunately, at this moment her troubles were made known to her sister, a woman of powerful frame, who threatened the poor borrower with the worst "hiding" of her life if she paid another farthing to the money-lender. Not content with this she brought her *fiancé*, a policeman, to call. The borrower was more terrified of her sister than of the money-lender—"You see, miss," she explained, "my sister is such a big woman"—and, urged on by her threats and those of the policeman, she bearded the money-lender, reminded her that the original debt had been many times repaid in interest, and declared she would pay no more. The lender protested and began to threaten in the usual way, but a counter-threat borrowed from the policeman's vocabulary had the desired effect, and our friend has not heard from her to this day. In another case a wife who had contracted a debt without her husband's knowledge found herself unable to pay the interest and was obliged to tell him. The result was, we were told, a "terrific row," and both wife and money-lender were frightened into dropping the loan.

The examples we have quoted, though few in number, are, we believe, typical of many others and give some idea of the extent of the evil of money-lending. In what direction the remedy should be sought is a matter for careful consideration. In many cases what is needed is not so much the opportunity of obtaining loans on favourable terms as the curtailment of opportunities of borrowing at all. To the thriftless muddler, the drunkard, or the gambler, stringent regulations, which rendered borrowing more difficult, would be nothing but gain. In other cases a loan is a less questionable benefit. It is, of course, obvious that it would be better to save beforehand against a rainy day, but where the full income is barely adequate to meet the ordinary needs of the household, it is difficult to put away anything beyond the death insurance—a form of saving which is almost universally practised. Even where some saving can be effected it will often not suffice for prolonged unemployment or some other sudden emergency, and borrowing in

some form or other becomes necessary. And in numbers of cases borrowing is a quite legitimate form of procedure. To the small trader or craftsman, the costermonger or the flower-seller, a loan may be a vital necessity in order that they may purchase the wherewithal to carry on their business. At the present time, in all such cases accommodation can only be obtained on ruinously extravagant terms. In the case we have already mentioned where a sum of £30 was borrowed in order to start a shop, the borrower repaid the loan in thirty weeks by instalments, but had to pay £11 interest (he had understood he would have to pay only £8, but there was no written agreement); the cabinet-maker who had to obtain materials for his work paid the usual rate of 1s. 8d. in the pound; the ferryman who borrowed in order to repair his boat paid the same rate, even though he could offer some security in the shape of his boat, and he was for long saddled with the debt—he would have been burdened with it still longer but for the fortunate chance that he received compensation when the Rotherhithe Tunnel was opened and was thereby enabled to free himself. The epileptic who borrows money to tide him over his enforced periods of idleness, the wife who borrows whenever her husband gets back to work after a time of unemployment in order to feed him up, the mother who borrows to pay the funeral expenses of her child—all pay dearly for the assistance they receive. The wastefulness of the system is so obvious that it is not necessary to labour the point. It is one more example of the high prices the poor have to pay for everything in proportion to their poverty.

## SPIRIT CREATIVE.

## A STUDY IN SOCIAL RENEWAL.

WE have seen the impassioned unanimity of a nation at war, when everyone was out for the same all-uniting end, and the dissensions of party, class, sect and self-interest disappeared. Many exclaimed, "O, for this oneness of mind, this quickening flame, in time of peace! Why should we ever return to that helpless and unworthy chaos that we have known?" But there is no reason why they should ever do so. Our end, then as now, will be Civilization; and the end of Civilization is to afford every one of its people the noblest vision and the noblest life. What service do we propose, which shall be transparently and infallibly direct to this high end of Civilization? Let this article show a plan of campaign.

First, we seek knowledge. We lack the deeper truth, a simple and universal outlook on all the manifold interests and activities of personal and social life. This is because we have not sought what is now called "sociology"—a steady outlook on personal and social life as such. As the vast multiplicity of celestial movements requires the simple and universal theory of gravitation, which explains and foretells them all, so the complexity of human interests needs elucidation by the single and simple principle which develops itself in so great a manifoldness. Without the true key to Civilization we are without understanding or power. We suffer from entertaining a separate vision, separate standards of value and separate principles of conduct, for each of the many departments into which our life has become divided. We are distracted by partial and abstract ideals. Well, we want to work together at this knowledge, with people of the most various kinds, because all kinds have this supreme interest of the noblest vision and the noblest life for everyone and for all generations. This specific knowledge is claimed by the modern sociologist as his particular business. And, taking him at his best, he goes no little way towards justifying that claim, by cultivating his field in an adventurous spirit. Secondly, together with the simple and universal knowledge, we seek a simple and universal practice. We seek an art of Civilization, a service, a life, indeed a social body, which shall carry our knowledge into effect.

We must make the plan of campaign clear right through from beginning to end, and sketch it firmly if roughly. First, then, what is Civilization? It is the *growth of community in the love, celebration and expression of the perfections*, such as beauty, truth, justice, power, freedom and charity. Its end is to afford to each

of its people the love and enjoyment of these perfections; that is to say, the noblest vision and the noblest life. And then, if we go on to define the fulfilment of personality, *i.e.*, the flowering and fruiting of anyone's life, we shall see that personal life is identical with social life or Civilization. For the fulfilment of personality is *unanimity in the love, celebration and expression of the perfections*. Well, some such view of Civilization and of personality may provide that final truth, that simple and universal outlook, which we need for the study and co-ordination of all human interests. It distinguishes the vital unity which underlies and develops all the manifoldness which we see in history and the present world. It affords the single all-sufficient motive of personal life. It shows the practical methods by which we may supersede dissension and conflict, and secure social dignity, prosperity and felicity. It yields a creative art of society.

Civilization is not less great than the human spirit. Its purpose is not merely to serve the temporal needs and delights of mankind. Its purpose is chiefly *expression*, the expression of justice, peace, freedom, power, charity and other splendours. We all habitually judge of it by this test of expression. When the story is told of an ancient people we ask what was their spiritual contribution. How did they love the several perfections and how did they express their love? We ask to-day what is the soul of France, or of Russia, or of the United States? These are the questions that go to the heart of civilization. The world is uniting in a compact that a new Europe shall seek to *express* liberty and right. Life under tyranny may be pleasant and prosperous, but it is spiritually intolerable, because it *expresses* some dynastic or governmental pride, and not those supreme perfections which altogether claim us.

Civilization is not to be confused with the visible treasures which it produces. They are only its instruments, valuable as they fulfil their purpose, baneful as they depart from it. We rightly revere our Commonwealth, the State or instrument of government, our laws and defences, the sciences and educational system, the fine arts, industry and trade, the press, civic opulence and enterprise, private wealth and gentility. But a people may be pre-eminent in all these, and yet be a monument of barbarism. Again, to confound Civilization with its treasures leads to a fatal practical mistake. In the old story of the Tower of Babel, a great people laboured to build a tower which should reach to heaven, but were smitten with divergence of speech and loss of community or unanimity, so that all their pride and toils and oppressions came to nothing. Our civilization has for a long time been in the same danger. We have laboured too much at the treasures (*e.g.*, the industrial system, academic learning, the theatre, what you will); too little at the expression of humanity, that specific unanimity in the love and

celebration of the perfections which is the only source of treasures. Under the mistaken idea that the treasures exist for their own sake and constitute civilization, they have become ends in themselves, so that personal and social life is enslaved to their ruthless and separate elaboration. Life is thus subordinated to the material, intellectual and social means of life; and those treasures which should unite and illumine become more alien to one another, duller and more ineffective. Instead of serving a deeper and wider unanimity, a richer community, they promote difference and dissension. For the most part our treasures must be reproduced anew from personal and social life merely expressive of humanity itself, and of unanimity in the love of the perfections. Nay, that they must always and in every place be thus in process of renewal may perhaps turn out to be the most felicitous discovery of our generation. If the gardener desires flowers and fruit, he labours not directly at these, but rather at the choice of stock and at cultivating the soil. But there is an art of civilization as there is an art of gardening, and we must work according to the art or lose our labour.

### THE PERFECTIONS.

The perfections are the objects of universal desire and love, and their love in common human life is the basis of unanimity. They are conspicuous to everyone, and everyone's nature is to love them. In some way or other they belong to ultimate Reality. We come from them and we go to them; and this is the subject matter of philosophy and of theology. Poetry is the expression of our kinship with them. They have, somehow, concrete objective reality; they have the character of unity (e.g., "Beauty is truth; truth, beauty"); they have the character of generosity (as Wisdom says: "I love them that love me"). The perfections are not merely natural sentiments, abstractions, subjective ideals and aspirations; they are real beyond all other reality; they are before all and above all and in all. Man is far more than a product of Nature, in the sense of the universe of space and time, regarded as a self-dependent system. He is a God-like being, whose home is in the kingdom of perfections; and this kingdom we know more clearly and with more complete unanimity than we know anything else. He brings with him the love of them, and this grows all through his life long after he has lost every earthly comfort. He gives up all other values for truth, beauty, freedom, mercy and the like, and is ready to die for them. Well, this God-like being *must* make for himself a heaven on earth; he cannot help it; no other occupation is good enough for him. The glories and graces of home must be realized and enacted, to the best of his ability, in this arena, which in a certain sense is evidently exile. His princely spirit seeks



princely satisfaction. So, "all man's Babylons strive but to impart the grandeurs of his Babylonian heart." Civilization is expression.

So also is personality. In the grand simplicity of the child, the peasant, or of humble age, we see humanity expressive as Nature is, untroubled by fantastic ends, and marked by the spacious peace of the perfections. The nearer to earth man is, the more we see him God-like. We realize that his nature is to be so, and that we must for ever understand and deal with him in that light. But we see, further, that there is a definite kind of life which is universal, proper to humanity, and normal because expressive of reality. It is the lowly life which accepts the simple, common, elemental conditions of our nature and destiny; not shrinks from them, nor tries to rise above and contemns them; but rejoices in elemental life, lives it, and finds all therein. Its mode is not "I am myself" (to make the most of myself), but "I am humanity" (to do and suffer and enjoy that which is appointed to mankind). Humanity itself, and none of its grandiose ends, is what we are to seek; life more abundant, and not more abundant means. This elemental life, close to earth, of God-like man, is the seed of all that is strong and noble. Thence we derive a germinal method, and say, "Let us leave everything else and concentrate to reproduce the seed." In the words of sociologists who follow Le Play: "from the elemental family, not only by bodily descent, but by social descent—that is, from their everyday life and labour—there develops the essential fabric of institutions and ideas, temporal and spiritual. No blossom, however rare or marvellous, whether of practical, intellectual or spiritual genius, but comes ultimately from this humble root—this tiny seed of simple daily human life." "Well, then," anyone might say, "let us sow and cherish the tiny seed of simple daily human life."

Expression is what we are here for. The divine says so, the poet knows it, the child does it all the time. It is expression that is powerful and justly honoured; the city, the building, the worship, the play, the sculpture, the song, are the glory of civilization. Our life is expression, and no matter how obscure or weak or faulty, is great if it be but the expression of reality. This is the art to which the Oracle incited Socrates, bidding him "make music"; it answers to the harmony of the perfections above, and on earth tames wild beasts and renews creation. Life speaks by intensely significant proportions, as a painting may show the radiance of noon though none of its surface be bright at all. Like its lesser arts, it will reject continually, if at any cost it may see and render. Saint Francis says: "I will have none of your treasures: I will have the splendour of God, the kinship of Creation, the loveliness of common human life"; and does more than anyone else to build our universities. George Fox says: "I will have none of your treasures: I

will have the light," and goes a long way to build the United States. There is no one who has not almost unlimited power; but it must be by expression, through the whole structure and texture of life. The popular political mode, "I decree so and so," is of little value. The sociologist's mode, "I observe and suggest so and so," is a long way on but incomplete. We have yet to arrive at the creative mode, "I do so and so." All art is the inspiration of work by love of the perfections, and the supreme creative art is the inspiration of the whole of common personal and social life by the same, so that it may be fully expressive. It matters little that the Hun destroys cathedral and library; we shall some day rebuild them greater. We are children in civilization, and know as little of its resources as earlier peoples knew of the geography of the world. But we have the key to it.

What shall we say, then, of the conventional standards of society, which are chiefly the expression of materialist values and of individual success? For we all know what is the general agreement, and even very respectable teaching, in this matter. It is that we should indeed inwardly love and believe according to reality, but that we should outwardly conform to these conventional standards, which, however, are the open negation of reality. This creates an impossible situation. The conventional prizes—money, comfort, lordship, popularity, reputation, pleasure and the rest, are good enough things in their way. But the cult of them is destruction. It is anti-social, producing an arid and uncreative individualism, bereft of gaiety, clogged with want and crushed by toil. Moreover, there is an incomparably better prize than these; and in practice there is only one thing to do, and that is to cut the tangle, to let the conventional standards go, and to come out on the right side of the dilemma. And that for this reason. There is one ultimate thing we must all do, or be lost. We must be sincere, or be lost. But to believe in reality, and at the same time to conform to standards which are the negation of reality, is organized insincerity. And insincerity, however highly organized, never built cathedrals nor civilization.

We turn to the people who actually built them. Often in old writings we have come upon the joy and wonder of the traveller as he approached the site of some religious house, and exclaimed that surely here was heaven upon earth, civilization with all its treasures welling up from the perennial fountain of praise. Here men were mild, humble, brotherly, hospitable, cheerful, laborious. The lands teemed with produce; abundance seemed to be the infallible harvest of holy poverty. Here were wisdom and learning, leisured meditation and converse, and every influence to direct the mind to the light which is its home; *Dominus Illuminatio Mea*, graven over the library door, was here no idle legend. Here were

schools; chronicles were compiled; books were multiplied and sent forth over the world. The place was a busy, expert college of rural economy, architecture, sculpture, music, philosophy, statesmanship; it was a complete nursery of civilization. But all this rich flowering was borne on a quite definite stock, a definite kind of personal and social life, which was the deliberate expression of unanimity in the love and celebration of the perfections.

#### THE NEEDED COMMUNITY.

And now for the task which lies before our generation. We have to reproduce, in some other form, precisely this conspicuous unanimity in the service of human life and in the love of the perfections. We have to create a social organ deliberately expressive of reality. We have to plant the seed of high-power society amid the surrounding low-power society. If we indeed know in some degree what society or civilization is, we shall be able to do this; and inasmuch as it is the greatest need of our time, we are bound to do it.

The need for unity of the most various kinds is obvious to everyone, but the way thereto is generally misunderstood. The attempt to unite existing differences on their own plane is a mistake; you must create something higher and more universal in which the differences disappear. The differences arise through some cleavage of common human life, as when that life is cleft into a class which enjoys and a class which labours, and neither class is fortunate or fruitful. Or they arise through the pursuit of partial ends which fall short of the true end of life, or through the sheer lack of something concrete and noble enough to wean men's minds from ignoble rivalries and alienations. The sound and feasible way of unity is to plant human life in its universality, inspired by the deliberate intention of its known end. However many differences it may then develop, they will remain the various organs of the same integral life. But always and in every place this social structure must be grown again and again from the seed, that is to say, from universal human life inspired by its known end.

The modern sociologist is fully aware of our need of a social form which shall embody a highly unifying spirit, and rightly says that "the core of the problem is to arouse a personal sense of definite responsibilities including and transcending each one's own life and work." Again, "the readjustment of existing groups, institutions and interests to these needs and responsibilities cannot be expected to occur spontaneously. There is required some type of social organ specifically adjusted to aid the new birth. There are already tendencies pointing to an adaptation of both university and city in this direction." The objection, however, in this respect, to

the city and even more to the university, is that as social organs they are highly differentiated. Neither represents or includes society in its universality. Both are far removed from the social root. The sociologist will find that he has to make actual and complete, in little, that which he would see realized on the large scale. He must produce society whole and entire, with all the functions of society, including labour reclaimed; rooted in those elementary conditions, which he emphasizes, of place, work, folk; more productive than the factory; deeper, more thoughtful, more original and more educative than the university; more social and more ardent than the city; showing especially, as none of these can do, the height and spaciousness of human life. This high-power society, wherever planted, will renew the life of its district, and its seeds will soon scatter down the wind. It will revive existing institutions, and will later go far to supplement or replace them. The "core of the problem" lies just inside the core which the sociologist has found. It is to create a *body* which shall in fact "include and transcend each one's own life and work," a *body* which shall worthily evoke that "personal sense of definite responsibilities." The sociological principle that "the renewal of life, the renewal of labour, and the renewal of thought, must run concurrently and in correlation," demands a community, a "place and work and people," wherein the various human interests shall be continually renewed in their native organic unity; for divergences, monstrosities and sterilities are remedied, not by abstract thought or talk or print, but within the unity of social life, deliberately founded on unanimity. This *body* is needed, because the human spirit is at present literally disembodied. What is required of this *body* is no less and no more than that it shall express the human spirit, by answering conspicuously to the known end at once of civilization and of personal life. That is to say, it must stand conspicuously for unanimity in the love and expression of the perfections; and conspicuously for the noblest vision and the noblest life for all.

It is impossible to compute the greatness and manifoldness of the value which such a gift would have for men. A community, for example, of men and women and families, bent first indeed on unanimity (for this is the beginning and end of all society), but equally on technical excellence and on raising the day's work to its due place as our primary offering, will do the greatest services now and in time to come. The mere power of such an instrument is obvious. Wealth must accrue from the great fundamental economies of co-operation carried to its highest level, of production for home use, and of a rich life that needs no vain expenditure to give it flavour; as well as from high technical skill procuring things of known excellence. Because its work and skill and

knowledge will be as nearly as possible universal, it will give truer and more valuable education, from the lowest to the highest, than can as yet be found anywhere. The industrial system has broken down rural life; well, rural life will be renewed by a community of this kind. The young man or woman, for whom the war has done so much by giving each a worthy place, and by getting out the value that is in each, will in time of peace find the same spiritual and practical hospitality at the door of a community wise in manifold technical experience and devoted to helping all to their personal fulfilment. Every member of it will be immensely enriched and strengthened by the possession of a *body* evoking the same devotion as the soldier has for his regiment, the seaman for his ship, and the lad for the traditions of his school or college. But all these are matters not so much for writing as for action. The main fact is that spirit needs body, *i.e.*, expression. We need society expressing the full range of life, and expressing in every fibre life's ultimate values. We do not find it and therefore must create it. Low-power society fails to satisfy anyone, and fails to perform the functions of society, because it fails to express the love of the perfections and the love of man. It accepts, complacently or cynically, dissensions and partialities of every kind; that is why it is of low grade and has little vitality. But we ought rather to study unanimity and its profound secrets; study it in practice; study its higher and higher powers; for unanimity gives all. The popular mistake is to suppose that unanimity is an end towards which we have to aspire and labour. On the contrary, it is the first thing of all, the starting point. We have to begin always, anew, with unanimity.

#### THE REDEMPTION OF LABOUR.

Finally, in order to any sound reconstruction, we must carry out at once, and once for all, the redemption of labour. The work which is now left to a "working-class" must be reclaimed as a service due to society and as a necessary and wholesome function of personal life. The sociological dictum is that the renewal of life, of labour and of thought, must proceed together. Yes—but it must be within the same persons; not in different classes united only by the newspaper and the government official. Any division by classes can only repeat for us the distracted life, the degraded labour, and the feeble academic thought to which we have so long been accustomed. Surely the time has come when we should face up to things, with some kind of finality. From the beginning of history to this day there have been certain capital wrongs which have stood in the way. One of these has been the shirking of labour. Human life costs a certain amount of manual work, although, even at its highest and richest, only a small part of what is actually given to it; and this work is for the most part exacting and arduous. The

religious orders at their best were a noble protest to the contrary, but the general custom has been that the man or class who can come out on top of the others lives in ease and glory and makes the others do the work. Everyone knows to what oppressions and miseries and loss of human opportunities this evil has led. The matter calls, not for a political revolution, but for a moral revolution. There is no use in working at social reform unless you are prepared to eradicate at once, and once for all, this age-long root of social wrong, disquiet and infertility.

The place of labour in social life, and equally in personal life, is gravely misunderstood and degraded. Labour is not a merely external necessity, the "making a living" for community or for individual, to be got out of the way in order that life may then be lived; it is a vital function, intimately bound up with all other functions of life. It is an appointed communion with Nature, and with our fellows, and with the perfections. We need to do physical service in order that we may excel in use of the mind; however high a man's interests may be, he must be expert in elemental matters if his work is to attain that breadth and sanity which alone can give it value. The latest discovery of our school teachers has been that human nature is one and simple, so that training of mind cannot go forward without training of heart and hand; they teach children the arts of the gardener, stock-keeper and carpenter, and so confess that primary labours are a means not only to making wealth but also to making persons. Indeed, these primary labours seem to be *intended*, not merely for physical sustenance, but more profoundly, for the attainment of our spiritual end.

Look how that sense of *intention*, design, creation, with all its practical guidance, has nearly perished from the modern mind, merely because our thinking and teaching have been entrusted to workless pedants. Truth is not got by the subtlest curiosity; it is got by a sense which belongs to wholesomeness of life and principally to love in work. The gardener knows what each soil is good for, what each season and each kind of weather is good for, until the pattern of his world is one design of goodness for man and his placid mind is familiar with Providence. But the perception of beauty, freedom and every other perfection depends equally on wholeness of life, and therefore on art, which is love in work. Sanity of personal and social life is logically prior to the appreciation of any worth. It is only reasonable therefore that we should first of all live a wholesome life of intended labour, a life expressing the realities of our condition.

The supreme function of society or civilization is the fulfilment of personality, or the cleansing and training of the soul; and for this purpose social and personal life should be permeated by



primary labour. For the day's work brings with it a great simplicity, and in this matter a great simplicity is nearly everything. Our real situation is one of entire simplicity, which, however, is easily veiled; ambitions, plans, prejudices, preferences, vanities, curiosities, ennuis, easily distract from the simple outlines of our fate. The fact is that our days lead, not to this or that, but only with inexorable simplicity to the grave. When we come to know, we find that there is nothing but God, and death, and the bit of road. It is a very simple situation, and the bit of road is very simple—a sequence of days, each day with its work; and this work is, obviously, to do for our brothers and for ourselves those things which are desirable in view of the simplicity of the situation. Many have praised the contemplative life, the life of active beneficence, the life of poverty; I am not sure that the life of the day's work may not be higher than all these, even higher than each in its own kind.

So marvellous is the unity, the simplicity, of creation and of our nature and lot, that all good things, all victories, all achievement, all release, come from one undistinguished rightness which is love. Wars, oppressions, alienations, cruelties, ignorance, stupidity, fears, want, unrest, are powerless before the love of God and of man, expressed in the life of reality. So it is that there is one key of all: that the key of the soul's peace is the key also of social prosperity, of economic soundness, of true knowledge and education, of all beautiful and worthy arts, and of a happy and noble people. We hold the key of all, and need only to apply it.

We hear of great preparations for national life after the war: how there are to be vast developments of production and trade, keen competition with other peoples, new adjustments between capital and labour, a great campaign of education; how the State is ever to increase its dominance, mastering every detail of existence, regulating everything; how life is to be a very arduous and bustling affair, more completely immersed than ever before in things of time and sense. But though these voices are very loud and confident, and sing lustily of the future, their tune is hopelessly of the past; it is out of date; it bears little relation to present fact or to any inspiration of the future. The future lies with the Creative Spirit.

GEORGE SANDEMAN.

THE BANKER'S PART IN RECONSTRUCTION.<sup>1</sup>

## I.

## A HIERATIC CRAFT AND ITS TEMPLE-PALACES.

THE curious visitor who wishes to see the square mile of streets centering round the Bank of England, which calls itself 'the city,' should be recommended to make a perambulation on a Sunday as well as on a week day. It is only in the empty streets and the undisturbed serenity of a Sunday forenoon, that the remarkable and symbolic architecture of city buildings can be observed. There are characteristic types, of which the half dozen relevant to our purpose may be indicated. Impressive by contrast among the crowded grouping of many-storied edifices, stand out a few long, low, temple-like structures. These exhibit the massiveness, dignity and decorative opulence we associate with the monuments of a reigning cult. They are indeed the monumental creations of what, in fact and function, is the hieratic craft of to-day. Does not the Banker fill that mystical part in our contemporary economy?

By no mere accident, but in appropriate symbolism, the Bank of England reached its present many-acred immensity by absorbing and replacing one of the ancient city churches. Central and immeasurably impressive as it is, nevertheless the Bank of England cannot be taken as the normal variety of this architectural type. Its frowning walls and forbidding portals, though relieved by a wealth of classical adornment, yet convey too much the impression of a fortress. And that impression would be confirmed if the observer happened to be at hand, when late in the day, a company of soldiers marches into the building to keep watch and ward. The normal type is discoverable rather at the opposite end of Threadneedle Street; where attention is arrested by the confiding facade of the National Provincial Bank, with its fluted columns and gay Corinthian capitals, its sculptured frieze and statue-crowned cornice. And above all, the undefended acreage of plate-glass that fills the spaces between a long row of towering columns rising

1. One of a series of papers prepared for the Cities Committee of the Sociological Society. Members of the society are most of them aware that the Cities Committee interests itself not only in research, but also in the practical applications thereof. Of late the Cities Committee has been investigating problems of Reconstruction, and amongst these it gives a foremost place to banking and finance. These it endeavours to treat from a comprehensive standpoint, including and transcending the customary economic approach. It needs scarcely to be added, that to the Sociological Society, which is an organization of purely scientific aims, there attaches no responsibility for the findings and practical recommendations of the Cities Committee.

almost direct from the pavement displays the spirit of the building. Eloquent testimony is thus borne to an interaction of pride, loyalty and mutual service between the Bank and its public. To say that the style adopted here and elsewhere in the architecture of modern banks bespeaks an attitude of instinctive reverence on the part of the public towards an honoured and cherished institution probably undershoots the mark. True the banker has his enemies. But the manner of their hostility confirms rather than confutes the general proposition. Of clear and definite criticism there is little. Of denunciation and inuendo there is much. Pent-up feelings occasionally find humorous expression, as in the carving of a sprawling octopus in the very centre of the facade of a recent bank building in the city. But this may be only the joke of a lineal descendant from that mediaeval mason who carved under the seat of the Dean's stall in a cathedral chancel an aged and portly cleric kissing a dairymaid.

Another characteristic type (of which Lloyds Bank in Lombard Street is a passable specimen) has its grand hall of public reception, resplendent without in polished granite and imposing within by its monoliths and corridors, coloured cupolas and winding stairways. Above this grand hall rises the facade of a many-chambered mansion liberally equipped with those balconies and pillars, pediments and cornices, which mark the pseudo-classic. To speak architecturally, this type of building is a Greek temple on which is piled a Renaissance palace. The frequency of its occurrence in the banking quarters of all modern cities of metropolitan finance is a symptom to be read by the student of sacred as well as of secular values.

A few doors eastwards on the same side of Lombard Street as the foregoing compound of temple and palace, stands a plain Georgian mansion whose one mark of distinction is the hanging sign of the old-fashioned banker. The grasshopper, which for many generations has swung over the front door of Martin's Bank, recalls the long and slow evolution of the old-time coin-dealer and money-lender of dubious repute into the modern banker, august and pontifical. Of all the high personages in the public life of to-day the precise rôle of the banker is perhaps least clearly realized by the popular mind. In order to analyse that rôle, the inner shrine of this hieratic craft must be penetrated. Before attempting so hardy an adventure let us fortify our determination by some further observations from the outside. Crossing to the south side of Lombard Street we may discover, after a little search, the entrance to an obscure alley called Post Office Court. Here, stowed away in a corner is a building of mean and unlabelled exterior with insignificant doorway. On enquiry, this unobtrusive edifice is discovered to be the Bankers' Clearing House.

The question inevitably arises why this contrast of magnificence in Lombard Street and meanness in Post Office Court. In part answer, one may note that the same contrast continues throughout the banking system. For instance there is on the one hand the costly and conspicuous publicity of the temple-palace facade pictured in the advertisement columns of the press, and on the other the modest line hidden in that small type news which give the figures of the clearing house returns. It is as though the banker, justly proud of the lordly pile which he modestly calls a "head office," was eager to show it to the world, but being a little ashamed of the clearing-house and shy of publicity for its functions, left the discovery of these to the inquisitiveness of newspaper readers.

These things are symbols. Let us enquire into the underlying realities. To begin with, it is essential to grasp just what the clearing-house is and how it arose. Suppose for a moment that the clearing-house did not exist and that the system of clearing had still to be invented. In this state of affairs Lloyds Bank receives from its customers by post on a particular morning, let us say, 98 cheques drawn on the National Provincial Bank. The total amount of these is £31,000. In the absence of the clearing-house, procedure would revert to the old custom as follows: A messenger would be sent out from Lloyds to carry the 98 cheques across the breadth of the city to the National Provincial Bank. He would hand in the 98 cheques across the counter and receive in return £31,000 in cash. After counting and verifying the £31,000 of gold or Bank of England notes, Lloyds messenger would carry this money back through the half-mile of crowded streets that separates his own Bank from the other. Arrived at Lloyds the messenger would hand the money to a clerk who would count it up and again hand it to other clerks and messengers, who finally would return a good part of it to its original source, *i.e.*, the coffers of the Bank of England.

On the same morning the National Provincial Bank of England receives by post from its customers, let us say, 101 cheques drawn on Lloyds, totalling £32,000. According to pre-clearing custom, a messenger would carry the 101 cheques across to Lloyds and bring back £32,000 in cash. But on this particular morning the two messengers meet half way across the city. The following conversation takes place:—

*Lloyds Messenger* : How many drafts of ours have you got this morning?

*Nat. Prov. Messenger* : I've got 101, totalling £32,000. What have you got of ours?

*Ll. M.* : There are 98 in my bundle totalling £31,000.

*N. P. M.* : Here's an idea. You give me your bundle and I'll

give you mine, and we'll meet at 3 p.m. at the Mitre Tavern in Post Office Court; and you bring the balance of £1,000 owing to me.

The two messengers meet at the Tavern as arranged. All the drafts having been found to be good and the totals verified, Lloyds messenger is about to hand to his friend two Bank of England notes for £500 each in settlement of the balance. At this moment there happens to enter a messenger of the Bank of England. The business is interrupted for a friendly talk and drink between all three. Rather proud of their new scheme, the Lloyds and National Provincial messengers tell their story to the Bank of England man. He, not to be outdone in ingenuity, strikes in with this suggestion: "Why bother to bring Bank of England notes," says he; "we'll all three meet here again to-morrow at three o'clock, and whichever of you two has to pay the balance, can give me an order to transfer that sum from your account at the Bank of England and credit the other with it."

This common sense suggestion appeals to the two original conspirators, and being adopted is carried out next day.

Now this is a true history after the fashion of Greek drama, which telescopes the events of several generations into the narrative of a single day. It is a story which simplifies and condenses as it were into a simple sequence, the successive adaptations of a long evolution in the art of clearing. But it is literally and historically true that the London Clearing System began with the instinctive adjustments of bank messengers meeting in the streets and comparing notes as to their respective errands. It is almost certainly true that the next stage of development was shaped in the informal gatherings of bank messengers meeting in some unknown city tavern. These early origins go back to unrecorded customs of the 18th century. The recorded and official history of clearing does not begin till the nineteenth century. Certain it is that for many years the economies were practised in the direct simple ways of working servitors, before their superiors bethought them to "organise" the business. When formal organisation began there were of course great gains in the detail and extension of economy. But the big advances were only achieved slowly and sometimes in the teeth of stout opposition.

A prolonged contest, for instance, was fought over what seems to us the obvious economy of paying clearing balances by transfer in the books of the Bank of England instead of by Bank of England notes. And this further story must be told in order to correct an excessive simplification in our one-day drama, and also because the history of the Clearing House is not only a symbol but also a parable.

The leader of the "old gang" was one, John Martin, the head of that ancient banking house in the sixties of the last century.

Clearing balances, asseverated John Martin, had always in his time been paid in Bank of England notes. That was the right and proper way to pay them, and no other way could be correct. There could be no argument about it. Any alteration was not to be thought of. Most of the other leading Bankers were of the same opinion as John Martin, and their united efforts defeated for many years the proposal to pay clearing balances by transfer in the books of the Bank of England. Obvious as it seems to-day, this idea was of slow birth, and did not originate amongst professional bankers. It came from an outside student of banking, an ingenious inventor and mathematician, one Babbage, known to fame as the first maker of calculating machines. From Babbage the idea was adopted by an open-minded and enthusiastic official named Derbyshire, whose persistence and eloquence finally convinced even John Martin. This reform once established, the Martins, from being opponents subsequently became advocates of progress, and that is no small part of the parable. The present Honorary Secretary of the London Clearing House is a member of this family of hereditary bankers, and his tenure of office has been marked by many improvements and adaptations.

Two large practical issues emerge from this historic survey. One is the question, what next great step forward is possible or likely? the other is how, in the light of past experience, can such new advance be originated, accepted and achieved? The battle of the balances taken along with the original meetings of the messengers in the street and in the tavern, disclosed with diagrammatic simplicity the very mechanism not only of "clearing" reform, but even of all social progress. It must be a progress in which (to use the nomenclature of the founder of sociology), the People and the Chiefs, the Intellectuals and the Emotionals all play their respective and natural parts freely and spontaneously, yet in duly concerted measure. If we want to get full value out of that high social invention, the Clearing System, we must thus ensure that it functions as a vital and integrated community. There must be acting messengers, and directing Martins, there must be intellectual Babbages and emotional Derbyshires. They must all act as free and alert individuals, yet combine as a team.

The present Clearing House in its humble exterior recalls the old-fashioned tavern of its origin; but for the moment it would seem to have lost the corresponding qualities, viz., the speculative freedom and the generous initiative of that civic primary, the bar parlour at its best. Can we not renew this spontaneity of human contact, and add thereto the resources of science and the impulse of national service? If that could be done we should be a long way on the road towards solving one of the knottiest of current problems, viz., the socialising of the banker. Now the clearing



house is that part of the banking system which embodies a tradition and method of co-operant activity. It is the clearing system that brings together into a working unity the disparate fragments of the banking world. Without it the various joint stock banks and the surviving private banks are but the immature elements of a half-formed body. With it, they begin to be the integral parts of a developed organism capable of well-nigh unlimited social service.

The Clearing House represents the Banks as united for public service; and the temple-palaces of Lombard Street, though they instinctively express the pride of a hieratic craft, yet also represent the ostentation of advertisers competing for gain from an impressionable public. As the banker becomes more fully socialised, he will replace the mean architecture of the clearing house by a nobler building, and will correspondingly simplify the grandiose edifices of his money-making business.

Looked at it in another way the banks collectively are a flowering plant in the public gardens, grown up half wild, half cultivated; the clearing house is the opening bud of the coming season; the public gardeners who hitherto have given but little thought and intermittent care to the plant may soon be beginning to discover new possibilities of florescence in the opening bud. Then they will ask themselves, what new crossings and graftings, manurings and seedings are needed to develop the promised latencies? These are questions to be experimentally answered. How to contrive such experiments? What preliminary analyses must be made; what resyntheses attempted?

## II.

### CREDIT AND DISCREDIT.

There are shrewd and economical persons who consistently make their banker their private cashier. Petty cash is invariably got by draft on their bank account. Every item of income is paid without exception into the bank, and all disbursements of one pound and over are made by cheque. Thus they obtain in their "pass book" continuously, accurately and without effort, a private account of income and expenditure. In all businesses but the very smallest, the banker is to be sure already the comprehensive and automatic cashier. And this customary use of the banker as cashier in both business and private life has gone even further in some parts of America; for there are towns in the United States in which almost every man and many women have a bank account, and make it a habit to pay all debts by cheque even down to one dollar.

Now in America, the Post Office issues half dollar books of stamps like the English two shilling one (but undisfigured by commercial advertisement). Suppose that by arrangement between

the Post Office and the banks of a thoroughly cheque-educated city, the half dollar stamp books were made legal tender currency for petty cash. It is manifest that within the bounds of such a city, money in the ordinary sense could be dispensed with. Extend the practice throughout a nation, and the Government would be relieved of its functions as coiner and currency maker. That might or might not be a socially advantageous situation. Its approximate realization in the customary usage of certain American cities may serve as an object lesson in the meaning of the cheque and clearing system—an invention which perhaps more than any other supports the hieratic rôle of the banker.

Towards penetrating a little further into the mystery of the cheque and clearing system, one might imagine a community making its own currency without recourse to the banker any more than to the national Government. To begin with they would appoint a Public Accountant, whose staff would register all the "money" transactions of the whole community. Then if A wished to pay so much to B, he would instruct the Public Accountant to make the necessary transfer in his books; and B's acknowledgment that this had been done would complete the transaction. So far the procedure is simple enough. Less so when we reflect how large a part is played by secrecy and mystification in a world where success in business turns—as is currently believed—on the wiles of competition and the tricks of advertisement. We are on the horns of a dilemma. Either we must modify the general usages of business or we must divide the work of the Public Accountant into a more secretive currency department and a more open clearing department. In the latter alternative we are approaching the practice of the ordinary banker who, as we have seen, does business with the right hand in Lombard Street and with the left in Post Office Court.

In any case it were bootless to pursue the speculative issue of how to replace the banker, since the purpose of this paper is to take him as one of the major facts of everyday life and consider how to make the most and the best of him—but without paying quite so much toll as he is accustomed to demand.

The cheque and clearing system has immensely amplified the rôle of the banker as social accountant. Concurrently it has similarly extended the range of his power and influence as master and maker of credit. Consider for a moment how the banker works his credit machinery.

The recipient of a big cheque which for some unusual reason happens not to be "crossed," determines to convert it into immediate cash. He goes to the bank of issue and presents it across the counter to a Teller. Maybe the Teller recognises at a glance the signature of the drawer, and knows, without reference, "his

banking status. It is the business of tellers to carry such things in their head for immediate application. They are chosen for shrewdness in judgment and retentiveness of memory, even more than for rapidity in reckoning. That is why they compose the first line of defence in those serried ranks behind the bank grille. But suppose the teller is in doubt whether to pay the cheque or not. He passes it back to that second or third line of clerical hierophants whose business it is to keep precise records of banking status and maintain them in varying adjustment to the mutabilities of life and fortune. But even these wonder-working auspices may be insufficient to determine the fate of the cheque. In such an event, recourse is had to that inner shrine, where sits, in rhadamanthine judgment the august manager.

While this great personage is considering the matter, in walks the very drawer of the cheque, who being an individual of consequence, has the right of entrée. A busy man, and confident of being granted the requisite credit, he has postponed the needed personal call, having assumed that the recipient of the cheque would pass it through his own bank and thus delay presentation till the cheque came through the clearing house. He was of course unaware that an absent-minded clerk had omitted to assure this customary circuit by "crossing" the cheque. And now a brief but significant ceremony takes place between the borrowing client and the lending banker, of which the essential rôle is the vesting in the bank, of a potential ownership in certain property of the client. The cheque is honoured, the credit granted, and the client endowed with a corresponding power of directing the energies of the world.

Within certain conventions and the due performance of the relevant ritual, the banker's credit machinery works automatically. It is in the arbitrary nature of the limiting conventions that reside the weakness of the system as a public service, and its strength in sustaining the privileges of certain classes, the charges of a hieratic profession and the opportunities of speculative finance. In London, for instance, banking credit tends increasingly to be based on stock-exchange securities, actual or potential, and hence follows a discouragement of certain types of enterprise (such as housing) which do not readily lend themselves to the ways of company promoters.

In the manufacturing north, stock, book debts and orders in hand are customary sources of credit for big people, less so for the middling ones, and hardly at all for the small men. The masters of engineering shops employing two or three hands, the blacksmiths and the carpenters, the art craftsmen, and all this would of energetic, inventive, self-reliant men of the handicrafts, and the small industries are outside the circle of bank credit. The same

story holds in the countryside. There, title deeds, live stock and crops are sources of credit—though very insufficiently it is said—for territorial magnates and big farmers, but to a small extent only for minor tenant farmers, and not at all for the smallholder and the cottager, the allotment worker and the gardener. In Scotland the personality and the prospects of young men entering business were formerly a customary source of credit, but probably less so now that the Scottish banks do a large London business through their metropolitan offices.

Thus it is not only individuals who could use it advantageously that are without bank credit, but whole classes of productive members of the community are reduced to this wasteful state of low economic voltage. In addition to those mentioned above, there are notably the women of small business—dressmakers, milliners, laundrywomen, confectioners, poultry keepers, gardeners—all this body of skilled and resourceful women are practically outside the credit circle.

Reflecting on these limitations, some critics of the banking system declaim against the insufficiency of its volume of credit. But the wonder rather is that from their limited resources the bankers create as much credit as they do. The real and vital issue is surely this—do the bankers choose the right recipients for their favours? From the immense body of claimants, actual or potential, for banking credit, few are taken and many left. Thus there is continuously at work, through the allocation of credit, a system of economic selection with far-reaching social consequences. The survival of certain types of personality, certain kinds of business activity, certain social classes, is all the time being favoured, and other varieties discouraged. Are the social and economic consequences such as best promote the national well-being and strengthen the country in war and peace? The banks collectively as makers and distributors of credit act as an agency of social selection, which in its range of influence is perhaps inferior only to that which is the most embracing of all, viz., marriage. For think what a double-edged sword is bank credit in our modern societies, where prestige and credit are so intimately associated. Thus by granting credit the banker imparts something more than economic power. By withholding it, he brands with a stigma of discredit. To him that hath is given, from him that hath not is taken away. For that age-long habituation of individualized societies, ancient and modern, the banker bears but a modest responsibility. But it is a social law, whose operation drives us all the more imperatively to scrutinise the banker's criteria of selection and their national reactions. And for such scrutiny to be exercised one condition at least is clear. The allocation of credit needs to be performed somewhat less in the mysterious and competitive

secrecy of Lombard Street parlours and somewhat more after the open and co-operative fashion of the clearing house. For here, as elsewhere, secrecy tempts to profiteering. In the change from twilight to daylight the cause of competitive business might suffer, but the public welfare stands to gain, with corresponding increase of national productivity.

### III.

#### ENTER THE FINANCIER.

Midway in Threadneedle Street, between the Bank of England and the National Provincial Bank, may be seen one of those temple-palaces of the hieratic craft which to external sight differs from other specimens only in greater opulence of polished granite. Internally there is also the enrichment of marble in place of stucco, and other signs of lavish prosperity. But closer observation discloses a mark of real distinction. Conspicuous among the adornments of the great hall of reception are two fine head of elk. These tokens of the "Far West" impart to this Canadian bank that note of regionalism for which you would search in vain the metropolitan headquarters of the great English "provincial" banks. So also it is not ashamed to call itself simply the Bank of Montreal. In coming to London it refrains from inventing a compound patronymic which conceals the original home in a vague suggestion of metropolitan origin.

Functionally the colonial bank differs from the orthodox English type in that, like the German banks, it has frankly gone into the business of "financiering." At its worst, financiering means the "promotion" of speculative enterprise wherever there are greedy investors to be tempted and feeble or corrupt governments to be hectorred or bribed for "concessions," or "natives" and raw material to be exploited. At its best it means such regional development as building the Canadian Pacific Railway and planting prosperous farmers in the wilderness of its track. In any case it means the wholesale manufacture of "securities," the peculiar distinction of which is their potentiality of conversion into currency putatively established on a gold basis. The success of the financier resides partly in his skill in effecting the transformation of his potential into actual currency, partly in his direction of energies towards the production of goods and services which will valorize his paper wealth.

This art of financiering has grown up and imposed itself on the old-fashioned banking which rests on the theory that excessive multiplication of credit and currency is corrigible by that Damocles sword of gold called "convertibility." But the banker-financier defies the damoclean threat; and this he does by boldly assuming responsibility for the fruition of his prospective values. By pledg-

ing himself to deliver the goods—as, at his best he does—he becomes a supervisor and director of far-reaching economic processes. From the mere selection of credit-seekers amongst a crowd of aspirants, the newer banking passes on to the more creative phase of organization and application of credit. In these developments of the hieratic craft reside great powers and refinements in the directing and controlling of communitary life and welfare. The corresponding political problems of how increasingly to use such powers for constructive effect and social purpose, and decreasingly for private profit have too long been evaded. Mere recourse to corrective and repressive measures which belong to an antecedent era can manifestly be of little avail in preventing the evil, and still less in using and advancing the good that is in the system.

Confronted by this complex problem, what practical suggestion has the sociologist to offer? A clue to the understanding of new types is often found by examining a specimen at the limit of variation. To discover such varieties in the city involves no great search. Towering over the Bank of England on its northern side is a temple-palace of finance whose exterior, in structure and decoration, conveys an impression of considerable divergence in functional type. From the general appearance of this edifice, and particularly from its byzantine arches, its gothic windows, and here and there a touch of classic moulding, the observer would infer—and accurately so—the domicile of one of those cosmopolitan Finance Houses of Jewish origin. And an internal survey would reveal a type in which is touched the limit of variation from that of the orthodox English banker. In one important respect this cosmopolitan order of banker-financier precisely reverses the rôle of his English prototype. And since in this reversal of tendency we find a hint of practical policy in public finance, it becomes necessary to analyse the phenomenon in some detail. The suggestion hinted at is nothing less than the possibility of substantial reduction of interest charges and especially those on the public debt. To examine this situation necessitates perhaps a little repetition.

The typical operation in finance as practised by the great masters of the type under consideration has four stages. First there is the initiation of an enterprise of distant maturity. Next there is the creation of paper securities which capitalize the future undertaking not at its present value but at its estimated maturity. And thereupon ensues that elaborate campaign of skilful and bold generalship in using the interacting forces of Journalism, Law, and the Stock Exchange to exalt the manufactured securities to a height of prestige which ensures their credit-ranking at the old established Banks. Maybe, it is this elevating power of this new branch of the hieratic craft that earns for it, in the logical accuracy of French speech, the designation of *la haute finance*.



Finally, and in due course, comes the directive stage of the operation. This consists in the more or less prolonged nursing and supervising of the new enterprise mainly in the interest of its financial parents and their group, who by the creation of "share capital" (more or less "deferred") have put themselves in possession, at once, of "control" and of a residual proprietorship quaintly called the "equity" of the business.

This financiering is by no means modern in origin, but during the last generation of the 19th century it achieved a certain perfection of finish. Incredible masses of new securities were then "floated," though in a somewhat waterlogged condition. Amongst the many unforeseen and unpremeditated consequences was a certain shifting of the banking centre of gravity. The banker of the old order obtained his profits under the name of "interest." But for the banker-financier "interest" was what the public received in return on a "secured" investment. Hence while the old banker was essentially a receiver of interest, the new banker financier was a payer of interest. The one therefore had as his *prime* impulse an effort to raise the rate of interest, and the other to lower it. Hence under the dominant régime of the latter, all those various tendencies which during the last quarter of the 19th century went towards a lowering of the rate of interest were emphasized and accelerated. The less the "interest" paid to actual investors in a given enterprise, the greater the gain to the banker-financier, since he and his group took the balance of the revenue after running charges and certain other items were met.<sup>1</sup>

Under pressure of various and manifold tendencies reinforced by this system of minimizing "interest" in order to increase the gains of the banker-financier, there arose the practice of lending to borrowers of high-standing such as first-rate Governments, great

1. The nature of "dividends" is variable. The American custom of covering the initial costs of an enterprise by issue of debenture capital and wholly confining the share capital to financier's profit and bankers' and brokers' commission has become thoroughly acclimatized in Europe. But it would somewhat overshoot the mark to say that this procedure represents the normal type of "high finance" in London and the other European seats of this art. Under the old-fashioned system "dividends" paid on share capital was of the nature of interest on an investment. It is a growing custom, under the new system, for the share capital (however "paid for," whether by "money" or "services," or by prestige or other intangible) to be pooled and held off the market till it is in the position of "earning" a high dividend. The holding group then sells it to the public at a premium estimated on an investment footing. From these considerations, it should be clear that the contrast of "dividends" on share capital and "interest" on debenture capital affords additional support to the argument in the text. In any case, the insistence is on replacing the current vague ideas about interest in general, by definite analysis of particular cases.

city corporations, and old-established British railways at rates of interest as low as 3%, 2%, 1%, and even on occasion and for short periods at less than 1%. In other words, the change in the meaning and content of the word "interest" had gone so far that in such cases the interest on loans came to work out in practice at something approximating towards an *insurance rate* to cover risk of loss. Thus were fermenting out new conceptions of fitness and new standards of measurement in a field already cumbered by many conflicting conceptions and standards. And as the new standards for Government and Corporation borrowing gradually crystallized, there would spontaneously result a lowering reaction on debenture interest in those new enterprises which are the source of financiers' profits. Here, then, in the impending passage of interest reckoned on a basis of profiteering to its rating on an insurance footing, was silently at work a considerable revolution in social affairs. This aspect of the banker-financiering method has been somewhat overlooked because, as was natural, attention has been more or less concentrated on the gains of a magician for whom every enterprise successfully launched became a veritable Aladdin's cave. The dazzling figure of the millionaire financier obscured the skilful manipulator of the rate of interest.

#### IV.

#### NATIONAL ECONOMY.

Let us then adopt from the palmy days of banker-financiering the key notion of loans at insurance rates. Why not even seek to make some application of it as a much-needed economy in the hard days that have come upon us? If so, it must of course be practised in conjunction with the other master-product of the financier's art, viz., the large scale control of productive processes. Up to 1914 these two great engines of national economy were quite naturally and even legitimately—as being their own invention—employed for the private profit of the coteries of banker-financiers who had established themselves in each of the great metropolitan capitals. Their operations came suddenly to an end with the outbreak of the war. The opportunity thus arose of using the inventions of the banker-financier for the benefit of the nation, and simultaneously engaging to supervise the process, at a moderate salary, that ingenious expert who otherwise might be abandoned to unemployment or driven to exercise his uncanny skill in other fields.

Already the Government have to be sure gone some way on this road. For example, one British Ministry alone, that of Munitions, through its 2,000,000 employees and an administrative staff of about 14,000, directs no small portion of the national energies. Collectively the various spending Departments of the Government exercise a direct control of energies which added to

the indirect determination of other Departments, must constitute an approximately comprehensive national oversight. To this factor of established control, it would thus appear that we only need to add now the other crucial element (*i.e.*, of loans at insurance rates), in order to put at the service of the nation the most advanced art of financiering.

It might be argued that this concept of borrowing at insurance rates is a merely ideal goal, like the points of the compass. So be it. Let us then steer the course of public finance towards the given destination. To map out a course would be something. To make even a start on the charted way would be more. And by way of beginning take an experimental case.

One of the most pressing matters of Reconstructive Policy is admittedly that of rural cottages. The ascertained shortage runs into formidable figures. And the problem is not only to get the cottages built, but at a price to yield an economic rent. A recent official report urged the construction of 200,000 cottages for the settlement of returned soldiers and sailors on the land. The cost was estimated at £60,000,000. The market rate of interest for Government borrowing was assumed to be 5%. But this rate of interest implied charges beyond the possibility of an economic rent. Hence the proposal of a Treasury subsidy of £15,000,000.

But now apply that double-barrelled instrument of the banker-financier, *viz.*, large scale control and interest at insurance rates, then a very different solution is obtained. The details of this are relegated to an appendix under the title of "The New Model." Here we are concerned only with the method. Accept that method as valid and the question arises as to its extended application, beyond the given instance of cottage building. Is it not applicable to a whole range of public works, those in fact which yield returns sufficient to meet the charges of maintenance, amortization and interest—at insurance rates? In other words, we have here what might be termed the natural or evolutionary method of financing markets and working-class houses, railways and canals, harbours, docks and warehouses, afforestation, drainage and reclamation. In short, here is the finance of a true National Economy.

The principles are frankly borrowed from "High Finance." The departures from that romantic system are these. In the first place the total charges are fixed not on the footing of "what the traffic will bear," but are adjusted so as to best aid and promote the traffic. Next it will be observed that at the termination of the banking process, the property belongs not to the high financiers but to the community. And this communal owner, in the given case presented in the appendix is not the Central Government, but a local autonomous community, organized on a basis of legal perpetuity. In this ultimate vesting of ownership and control

neither in the Individual nor in the State but in an independent local community, the new finance may claim to avoid the Scylla of Individualism and the Charybdis of Socialism.

If High Finance be, as here taken, in its essence, a direction of energies, then the nearer it approaches to self-direction the more economic the process, and also the more human. Hence the spontaneity of local initiative and the direct appeal of local interests are prime requisites for the successful working of the system at its best. But equally are needed all the gradations of adjustment that run from the village store to the town market, and thence through national to world markets. The regional principle must therefore be introduced and maintained throughout, but balanced at every point by such centralization as is necessary for adequate co-ordination. It is here that the principle of the Clearing House comes in, and harmonizes into a working unison all the various orders of interest and initiative from smallest local community to widest world organization. Between these limits is needed a graduated succession of "Clearing Houses" to engage the impulses and reconcile the claims of village economy, civic economy, national economy, imperial economy, and world economy. And this ideal of linking finance with industry and trade in a self-regulating system working from below upwards is no mere utopia in the clouds. It is a logical consummation of practical endeavours everywhere going on amongst men of business to get through their day's work in a world of inter-locking economic interests. And what is begun and continued empirically may be completed in scientific precision. The task is not so much to hitch the village waggon to a star, as to attach the collective human synergy to the parish pump. Such is the economic aspect of that high aspiration which politicians call a League of Nations. The student of social finance sees three routes converging towards the ideal of a League of Nations. One is the long and winding road of trade and banking; another is the straight and narrow way of education, *i.e.*, sympathetic understanding; the third is the broad way of politics. On pain of all round failure, the travellers by each of the three roads must arrive at the common goal simultaneously. Nothing is to be gained but impatience and frustration by any one of the three bands of pilgrims arriving alone.

The traditional separation of business, politics and education, as in England, has been bad for the nation. Their traditional union, as in Germany, has been bad for the world. To evade the horns of this dilemma and to discover the true "third alternative" will perhaps be the crux of the coming polity. To the constructive statesmanship required for its solution, the social financier has his contribution to make, as is assumed or expressed throughout this paper. And not the least part of such contribution is a rigorous

examination of the educational and political reactions of private as well as of public, expenditure. In that insistence the social financier differs profoundly from the old-time banker and his equivalent theorist, who is, of course, the orthodox economist. It will serve to illustrate that distinction, and also the social financier's idea of national economy if we pause to consider a fundamental objection which the orthodox economist, given his premises, is bound to raise against the New Model.

"What you call your New Model," he will say, "is the very oldest of all the tricks to which a needy Government resorts, in order to raise the wind. Disguise it as you will, it is at bottom an inflation of the currency. And moreover an inflation of the most vicious kind, since deliberately designed for the benefit of a section of the community. It is true you take elaborate precaution for the control of the process, and your scheme arranges for a return process of deflation. But these corrective measures only mitigate the original evil. They are not a complete remedy for it. And as for your notion of interest at insurance rates, that is good as far as it goes. The question is how far does it go. Interest in general and at natural rates acts as a kind of fly-wheel on the industrial machine. Its momentum carries movement over those dead points where capital exhausts itself in profitless enterprise. What guarantee is there that you will not diminish the national stores of capital by driving it into undertakings which earn less than the natural rate of interest?"

To this economic indictment the reply is as follows:

"In all that you say, O, economist, there is much truth. Our common ground is considerable and our points of divergence are capable of precise statement. You regard the natural rate of interest as that determined by individuals competing for gain. In our view the natural rate of interest is that which emerges when communities co-operate for life and welfare, according to quite definite though always variable plans of development and progress at each level from village to city and province, and thence to nation, empire and world. As we see it, the natural rate of interest is to be discovered by judicious experiment deliberately designed for that very purpose as one amongst others. In the preparation of such experimental plans, there is, to be sure, need of much preliminary study, and all the give and take of free discussion amongst the various groups and communities concerned. And, we submit, that one of the first conditions of success in this field is to purge such terms as Money, Currency, and Media of Exchange of their present mystical content and reduce them to their proper common-sense meaning. It should not be possible, for instance, for leading publicists to say, as one did the other day, "the world is short of three necessities, food, money and raw material." He would of



course have known that the world is suffering from a plethora of money, had he not been confused by the mystification that clings to that term and all its synonyms. They are but the names attached to certain parts of the economic apparatus for directing life and labour towards desired ends. Every man who has sixpence is so far master of mankind. There is no reason in the nature of things why organized communities such as cities, should not (within limits agreed with other cities) organize their own currency and so direct their own energies.<sup>1</sup> This ancient civic privilege has been more or less restored to French municipalities as an incidental consequence of war finance. For the right use of autonomy in civic finance is, of course, needed a well-conceived city-planning. And from the correlation of this with similar planning's for village, town and city throughout the country would emerge a national economy and its wider polity. Towards such comprehensive tentatives the experimental cottage-building of the New Model is suggested as a financial beginning. In all the consequent activities, the economic factor would be ever fundamental, never supreme. The direction of energies towards an enhancing of life individual and social would always afford the supreme guidance. In the result one community would derive a particular advantage to-day and another to-morrow. That ancient motto of the herd, "Scratch my back and I'll scratch yours," has in the passing era had its community applications in the international rivalries of warward diplomacy. Its application in the field of inter-civic rivalry and co-operation in the planning of constructive peace campaigns remains for the coming age."

If the New Model were to be applied only to cottage building and this in certain favoured areas, there would be possible ground of complaint on the score of inflation and partiality. Nor would these objections be met, but rather aggravated by any random scheme of supplementary public works. For the New Model to be justified, the usufruct of its improvements must be distributed as fairly as may be over the whole nation, and realized within reasonable time. The cottage building and all other works similarly financed must be co-ordinated items in a well-ordered campaign of Regional Development<sup>2</sup> extending throughout the country and executed within one or at most two generations; for most men are willing to sacrifice something for their children, few for their grandchildren. In this way, too, we may correct the vagueness of the

1. For a consideration of the part which universities might play in such civic direction of energies, see "The Coming Polity" (Williams & Norgate, *Making of the Future* series) *passim*, and especially chap. xii.

2. For geographical approaches towards the question of natural regions, see Fawcett's "Natural Divisions of England," *Geog. Jour.*, Feb., 1917; also Marcel Hardy, *Caledonia Rediviva*, Scot., *Geog. Mag.*, January, 1910.



National Economy of the German School, and the still greater vagueness of the Political Economy of the English School, by definite and concrete Regional Economies (civic and rural) based on adequate Regional Surveys.

## V.

### THE GOLDEN CALF.

Continuing eastwards from Lombard Street one finds the ultimate temple-palace of the hieratic craft on the very confines of the city. But this edifice stands not confidently open to the public. On the contrary the building is shut in and the public shut out by a triple defence of wall, moat and stout iron railing. In this respect the Mint curiously resembles an ancient fortress which faces it across the road—the Norman Tower of London. And since it is notorious that the real and functional defences of London are at Chatham and Sheerness, at Dover, Portsmouth, and Harwich, with the result that soldiers continue to be quartered in the Tower solely for aesthetic and traditional reasons, the enquiring observer can hardly refrain from asking if the Royal Mint may not be also an historic survival. Whoever might be inclined to argue in that sense could find not a few supporting facts in the "transvaluations" wrought by the war.

The gold standard is the bulwark of British credit. So each generation is taught by the Professors of Political Economy. And the Mint, with its proud tradition from the great Newton onwards, stands as visible confirmation in the eyes of favoured visitors granted, after due ceremonial rite, the privilege of penetrating its triple defence. How has the experience of war affected this gold theory?

One of the curiosities of the war has been the attitude towards gold during the earlier and later phases. At first there was a scramble for gold amongst the well-to-do classes in each belligerent country. Next it became a patriotic duty to add private hoards to the Government stocks of the precious metals. Thus in one way and another the Government of each belligerent country came into possession of practically all the gold coin that had previously been in private hands, or in the tills and the safes of the banks.<sup>1</sup> Gold coin therefore not only disappeared from circulation but its very possession by private persons became a mark of reprobation. And the great accumulations of the metal amassed by the belligerent Governments, what purpose have these served? To the British Government, as international paymaster for the Allies, fell the task of disbursing gold to neutrals in payment of supplies in cases where the exports to these neutrals failed to balance the purchases

<sup>1</sup> The application is to European belligerents only.

made. But after a time the neutrals became surfeited with gold, and declared they must have goods in full payment for goods sold. That broadly was the situation that had developed by the end of the third year of war. And to be sure, a curiously Midas-like situation. Privately it was a disgrace to hold gold. Publicly it was useless, or almost so, for international trade had well nigh reverted to barter. Still the time-honoured notion was maintained that the stocks of gold held by the governments guaranteed their paper issues. Yet this could hardly be taken by serious students as anything more than a political fiction in view of the incredibly vast issues of uncovered paper of one kind or another issued by each and all of the belligerent Governments. In short, appearances point to the conclusion that the reign of the Golden Calf has in effect ceased for the time being, strenuous though the hierophants of the cult be in maintaining its formal ritual.

There are three fundamental tenets of this faith. One is that the unit of value for monetary transactions must be a commodity. The second is that this commodity must be one that possesses certain qualities, and above all be very difficult to obtain, and that gold is by far the most suitable. The third is that every form of currency must be safeguarded by imposing on its issuer, the obligation to redeem it in gold if called upon to do so. Critics of this doctrine are to be sure not wanting. Between the academic guardians of the faith on the one hand and its extra-mural critics on the other, what position is open to the sociologist? In the past his attitude has been one of discreet reserve. But is a way not open to him in treating the matter according to his own special method, that of historical comparison and current observation? For the sociologist it would thus become a special case in the general question of the evolution of standards and units of measurement.

In this field of unitary development even the movement of science is apt to be slow. How laggard then will be the popular usages of a society in which the education of rich and poor is equally pre-scientific! Note, for instance, how eggs continue to be cooked in terms of the threefold standard, "hard," "soft," and "medium," just as though the temperature at which albumen coagulates were still an unknown quantity. The data may be found in any text book of organic chemistry. But it is doubtful if there is a cook who possesses and uses the knowledge in any hotel, club, private house, barracks, prison, boarding school or whatever place (excepting hospitals) where people are fed in Great Britain and Ireland. Again, there are British farmers who continue to practice the art of brewing as though thermometers had not been invented. They discover the temperature at which to put the hops into the vat by inserting their own head into the steam and watching

for the reflection of their face. To innumerable instances of such rough and ready empiricism instinctively turns the mind of the scientific observer, when he learns that the unit of monetary value in the British Empire is 123.27 grains of gold, neither more nor less. And when, further, he ascertains that this happened to be the weight of the pound sterling when, after a historic career of fluctuation, it began to receive the serious attention of modern statesmen, our scientific observer will consider as confirmed his diagnosis that the monetary standard is purely empirical. A precise term of comparison he will recognise in the fixation of the British railway gauge at 4 ft. 8½ inches, that having come to be a standard width of coach axle adjusted to the British turnpike. It was as though coachmen and engine-drivers were taken as interchangeable. The British railway gauge illustrates the kind of blunder which the "practical" man is apt to commit, when confronted by a problem requiring searching and critical thought.

Thanks mainly to a vigorous campaign conducted from Yale University by Professor Irving Fisher, the economists of the world would seem not only to have awakened to the empirical character of the gold standard in all countries, but also to have given a more or less general adherence to a plan of scientific adjustment. Under the title of "The Compensated Sovereign," Professor Irving Fisher contributes as an appendix to this paper an account of the proposed adjustment. It goes a long way towards confirmation of the proposed solution, that, as Professor Irving Fisher narrates, it was independently thought out by a mathematician and an economist in America, and by a social reformer (Aneurin Williams, M.P.) and a naturalist (Alfred Russell Wallace) in England.

If then the gold standard is to be maintained, why not put it on a basis of scientific precision and thereby diminish all those disturbing consequences which the present method of use and wont supports and encourages.

Passing to the larger question of the dissociation of the unit of value from its gold support, the sociologist enters a field of uncertain guidance. The literature is scanty, and such as there is issues for the most part from "practical" men of uncritical theory and of theorists of the narrowest specialism. To this characterization there is at least one notable exception.

During the nineties of the last century there appeared in the *Annals of the Institute of Social Sciences at Brussels* a series of papers, which under the term *Social Accounting* put forward the idea of dissociating the unit of value from any material commodity whatever. The regulation of currency in every shape and form it was proposed to leave in the hands of the banks and their clients. This conception originated in the mind of M. Ernest Solvay, a Belgian citizen of unusual qualities. An inventor and

at the same time a captain of industry, M. Solvay supplies an instance of that somewhat rare phenomenon, a great fortune made neither by trade nor financiering, but issuing directly from improved technical processes. A social philosopher also, M. Solvay devoted an impressive share of his wealth to the promotion of research, and in that connexion founded and endowed the above Institute of Social Sciences, which from the bibliographical point of view was (and one hopes is) probably the best equipped institution of the kind anywhere in the old or in the new world. A collaboration of a kind that would be more frequent in well-ordered societies, arose between this man of wide practical affairs on the one hand and on the other, two men of speculative interest, the late Hector Denis (a well-known economist) and the late M. de Greef (a well-known sociologist). There grew out of these fertilizing contacts a reasoned theory of the monetary unit and a corresponding project of practical reform. The latest reference accessible at the moment carries the development of the Solvay conception of *Social Accounting* only as far as 1896. In view of the likelihood that the project has been modified and developed since that date, an effort has been made through the Belgian Embassy in London, but without success, to get into touch with M. Solvay, who was certainly alive and in Brussels in 1914. What unknown tragedies have been wrought by the war on the Institute of Social Sciences and its staff and adherents remain to be told. The known tragedy is that its devoted Director, M. Waxweiler, a refugee in London, was run over and killed in the darkened streets a year or so ago.

The argument for *Social Accounting* is of too technical a nature to be summarized here. But its practical operation may be roughly pictured if reference is made back to the hypothetical American city which in an earlier part of this paper was conceived as trying the experiment of a currency exclusively consisting of debit and credit entries in a public ledger, supplemented by the use of half dollar stamp books for petty cash. The Solvay system of Social Accounting would generalize the practice of such a city. Three essential differences divide such a system from the present customs of cheque-using nations. At present the great bulk of monetary transactions other than wages and petty cash are made by cheque. Under the Solvay method all monetary transactions other than wages and petty cash would be so made. At present we pay by cheque as a matter of economy and convenience. Under the Solvay system we should do the same, but also for the further reason that there would be no other way of obtaining currency. And finally the eternal problem of gold convertibility would lapse from irrelevance, since discussion of monetary units would be in terms of accounting. In brief, if we regard the Solvay conception not as a finished and rounded project but as an illustration of tendency, we

recognize the idea of Social Accounting as an extension, development and further interaction of the principles of Credit and of Clearing.

That the development of the cheque and clearing system pushes towards some such logical consummation as that foreseen by M. Solvay is surely undeniable. And, moreover, the countering tendencies would seem to be more of an ethical than a financial kind. Chief among these countering tendencies is that emulative disposition which sustains the competitive character of business and calls for a large element of secrecy and mystification in commercial operations. It is because he so perfectly represents this aspect of modern business that the Banker is allowed and encouraged to pontificate at its social apex. Thus, when his professional instincts urge the banker to retain and defend an empirical unit of value because its dubieties, mysteries and fluctuations support the gains of a hieratic craft, he rallies to his side all the keen and ardent spirits who are seeking fortune in the sphere of competitive business.

Such human considerations count for more or less according as the emulative element becomes a greater or smaller factor in business success. In this connexion the influence of the war is worthy of remark. Immediately following the outbreak of hostilities in August 1914, there was a swift and sudden realization that the contest against a common enemy implied a reduction to the very narrowest limits of the competitive factor in domestic trade. The enlistment of a great volunteer army had its commercial accompaniment in a wide and general offer of business firms to place their plant and their energies at the national service on a footing of running charges and cost prices. For one reason and another this outburst of co-operative enthusiasm died away (largely no doubt because the Government Departments lacked the imaginative skill to take advantage of the situation), and there was a gradual reversion to clandestine accounting and profiteering. That lapse from the ideal of national service marked the second act of the domestic trade drama. The third is marked by the incursion of a comparatively new figure in the business world, the Chartered Accountant. As the war goes on and the national bill mounts up, there is an increasing call for chartered accountants in Government Departments. The business of these experts is to analyse the cost of business operations in the detached spirit of scientific research and with its quantitative precision. The reverse of the emulative type, the chartered accountant is by training and habit of mind the remorseless enemy of secrecy and mystification. Through his efforts there has been introduced for instance into the Contracts' Department of the War Office and imposed on army contractors a system of cost accounting whose rigorous analysis at once reduces



the charges to a reasonable minimum and allocates a fair remuneration to labour and to capital at each stage of an open sequence of operations from raw material to finished product.

In labouring to effect a transition from old emulative trading to new cost accounting the spending departments of the War Government are embarked on a policy of herculean cleansing. But the more administrative departments are also contributing to the experiment. A reorganization has recently taken place, for instance in the Food Ministry. So far as may be judged from the outside this means that chartered accountants have been brought in and set to the problem of examining the cost sheets of food producers and traders when such cost sheets exist, and where they do not, endeavouring to produce them. Then on the basis of such costing analysis the Ministry will presumably do its best towards organizing a common-sense concert of producers, traders and consumers. Again there is the war-created Coal Control Sub-department of the Board of Trade. Here quite a definite problem was put to a group of railway engineers, assisted by their natural allies the chartered accountants. Given (a) the geographical situation of the collieries and of the towns and villages supplied therefrom by railway; (b) the normal coal consumption of such towns and villages; (c) the truck and engine capacity of the railways available—find the most economical distribution. The department has recently given its answer in an official plan estimated to effect a saving of 700,000,000 foot-tons during the ensuing twelve months.

The solution, it will be noticed, is in terms of a compound unit called foot-tons. This concept was the creation of engineers concerned by occupational training and consequent habit of mind not to achieve maximum profits but to deliver the goods as quickly and cheaply as possible. This engineering unit was slow to get accepted on English railways for two reasons. First because the idea of foot-tons was somewhat unfamiliar to the many directors who are gentlemen of classical education. And secondly because Boards of Directors inherit the traditions of emulative trading, and so are mentally oriented otherwise. Now it is possible promptly to carry out the scheme of railway economy worked out by the Coal Control Department, because the railways were at the very outset of the war put in charge of a committee of their own several managers, who are usually engineers or accountants, or something of both, like Sir Eric Geddes. The urgencies of mobilization compelled the Government in the interests of national economy to supersede the Boards of Directors.

While we have been examining these experimental changes introduced as measures of war economy into the processes of manufacture, transport and trade, the banker has been kept waiting. We left him in contemplation of M. Solvay's system of *Social Account-*



ing. The piquancy of that situation is calculated to raise certain questions and to inspire certain suppositions. Suppose for instance that the provision of funds to carry on the war (or even for "Reconstruction") becomes as urgent and difficult a matter as the organization of transport during the early stages of mobilization. And suppose further the Government be driven to follow the railway precedent and thus supersede the many Boards of Bank Directors by one single committee of bank managers. Make also the supposition that the precedents of the Army Contracts Department and the Board of Trade Coal Control Sub-department, in appealing to chartered accountants be followed with resulting appointment of a picked group of these financial hygienists to co-operate with the acting committee of bank managers. The problem put to this joint committee would be the preparation of a scheme for economizing credit methods and resources in such wise as to effect the least interference with the legitimate demands of industry and trade and most to facilitate national finance.

To make the above hypotheses in the piping times of the late "Victorian peace" (as Thorstein Veblen in his new book<sup>1</sup> calls it) would doubtless have seemed to "practical" bankers the merest exercise in fanciful speculation. But who to-day would declare the imagined eventualities to be beyond the range of practical politics? Certainly not those students of social science who foresee the needed financial cleansing of war's augéan stables, even though the bill for military operations run not beyond the present season. Grant then the possibility of the case presented for readjustments in the banking system and revision of the monetary unit. What sort of solution would the joint committee of bank managers and chartered accountants work out, what type of contribution would they make to the problem of national economy? It may be taken as certain that their labours would result in a reduction of the rate of interest—at least for Government borrowing. It is possible that their scheme, as a whole, would bear a colourable resemblance to the Solvay conception of Banking. *Solvitur ambulando.*

## VI.

### THE BANKER UNBOUND.

The solemn precincts of Lombard Street are, fitly enough, invaded by no other heavy traffic than an occasional lorry heavily lumbering between the manufacturing and shipping east-end and the spending west-end. The lorry is laden perhaps with cases of cotton goods on the way from a Manchester mill to an Oxford Street draper's shop via the London docks and the St. Paul's Church-

1. *The Nature of Peace* (the Macmillan Company), by Thorstein Veblen, author of *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, &c.

yard warehouse. But that cotton in its raw state has already travelled long journeys. It has been transferred from an Alabama plantation to a New Orleans warehouse and thence shipped to Manchester. At each stage of the circuit its temporary custodian has had to be paid for his services. How has all this concatenated series of payments been supervised and made? In picturesque condensation we may say they have been made by the Lombard Street Banker and his many agents and correspondents. To have created this world-wide chain of credit is the glory and the achievement of the classic banker of Lombard Street. To illustrate its wonders, think of a benevolent merchant in Valparaiso reading in his morning paper that soldiers' wives are starving in Petrograd. He writes a cheque, takes it to his banker who cables suitable instructions, and within 48 hours or so a signature written at one extremity of the globe becomes loaves of bread at the other. A veritable feat of magic. Thus we may picture the Lombard Street banker, contemplating through Olympian windows the passage of merchandise, and recognizing in its movement the impetus of his own hand. He may be pardoned if in the serene rectitude of power, he harbours the imperial reflection, that his is a business on which the sun never sets.

And yet that later master of credit, the banker-financier, sighed in his romantic mood for new worlds to conquer. His ambition was not satisfied with the prestige and the rewards (great as they are) that accrue from the administration of the credit machinery in the service of existing trade and industry. He conceived the idea of using this machinery as a creative instrument. He devised ways of converting it into a direction of energies towards purposes desired by himself and his ever-widening circle of clients. True these purposes sometimes illustrate every kind of baseness and parasitism. Sometimes they illustrate what is worthy and constructive. The point of insistence is that a new technique has been evolved capable of adaptation to any order of initiative and any scale of magnitude from the making of explosives to the building of cities. To master thoroughly the resources of this new technique of creative credit and apply it to noble public service in the coming era of reconstruction would be the aim of the fully socialized banker.

And let us picture this public servant of the new times sitting at the direction of energies, not only in the Lombard Streets of peace or in the Whitehalls of War. The grand source of energies is in the soil and the sunshine of the countryside. So let us begin with the village. Carry the mind forward a generation or two. Picture the renovated village. A copper cable conveys to it light and power from the great electric installation at the nearest colliery. And the current is harnessed not only to the farms but also to the service of the cottage. From

much domestic drudgery the women of the villages are liberated to the increase and refinement of rustic amenities. The exodus of youth and maid to the towns is arrested by the attractions of the brightened village and its openings for careers on the land. Hodge himself has become something of a mechanic. To rustic patience and insight he adds an element of the craftsman's open-mindedness and the citizen's broadened outlook. He serves his turn on the committees of the local Credit Association, the Housing Society and the Co-operative Society, which all meet in the village schoolhouse (itself become the main everyday centre for the village life, its garden developed for summer fêtes and festivals, its arbours and nooks for committees and conversations). On Monday evening the renovated Hodge directs the local community's pooled credit, on Wednesday its cottage and garden property, its common land, on Friday its co-operative trading. Thus he tastes something of the responsibilities of Banker, Landlord and Merchant. He is a man of affairs more than parochial. For the village business societies he directs are linked with kindred societies in the capital city of the region and again through the federal relations of these he touches a nation-wide circle and even beyond, for there are imperial clearing houses, and even, let us hope, mondial clearing houses.

As the electric cable circulates a current of mechanical energy, so through the system of co-operative business linkages circulates a flow of goods and material, to each item of which is attached its correspondent credit. And assuredly the eternal wisdom of the rustic mind will see and realize that the first impulse and likewise the ultimate destination of all these currents of circulation is the life of the local community. Ruskin spoke the rustic mind when he recalled to urban economists the half-forgotten truth that wealth is life. Thus it would be entirely natural for the policy of the village bank to be directed by the aims and ideals not of a money economy but of a life economy. Its standards will be those of field and garden, of blacksmith's forge and mason's yard; of domestic hearth and village school. Its criteria of success will thus be in true wealth of bettered environment, enriched life, higher education. Not until the money gains and losses of the balance sheet have been reinterpreted and restated in terms of real wages and vital values, will the solvency of the local community be declared. And one of the first claims (not the last as in current urban finance) on credit will be the making and the maintenance of homes for nesting couples, with the due financing of appropriate careers for both sexes accordingly; for in such social provision of ways and means for adventuring youth resides, as every mother knows, and every well-trained father believes, the assurance and the insurance of communitary life and

wellbeing at its strongest and best. In these ways may be recovered those practices and maxims of ancient wisdom that grew out of rustic life and labour. And even the great financiers of the metropolitan capitals may be led by the prosperity of the rural banks to realize that it profiteth not a city to gain the whole world (in quest of empire) if it lose the soul of its tributary villages.

\* \* \* \* \*

True the fully socialized banker is not at present in sight. And meantime it is well perhaps that the semi-socialized variety of to-day, with known propensities, should be bound to the golden rock of convertibility. Over against this tethered Titan stands the sociologist, observant, expectant and looking not without hope to the returning heroes of the war. Educated as they have been in the ethical school of national service and personal sacrifice, may not the youth of the oncoming generation, work towards a national economy more favourable to socialized types of business men? And if so, then amongst these, a natural leadership would fall to the banker unbound.

*P.S.—Since the above was written there has appeared in the "Economic Journal" (the organ of the Royal Economic Society) a notable indication of shift in orthodox academic ideas about currency. A somewhat prominent place in the current number is given to a review of currency reforms carried out in what are called "backward" countries under the direction of economic experts. The writer himself had a part in some of these currency experiments. He says, "It was not sufficiently recognised in the early days of these experiments, that an accepted currency, which is in equilibrium with the demands upon it, requires, other things being equal, no intrinsic value behind it, to sustain its existing parity." Still more startling to orthodox economists must be the concluding generalization and counsel of this writer. Putting together the effects of the war and the rise of prices during the years immediately preceding the war, he draws this deduction: "The economic disturbance and the inequities that result are so immense that it appears more than ever desirable to consider afresh other methods [than the gold standard] of determining the bases of present and deferred payments, as may suggest themselves, or perhaps be recovered from the limbo of lost and discarded ideas."*

## THE NEW MODEL.

The case put forward in the Addendum to the Minority Report of the Departmental Committee on the employment of sailors and soldiers on the land is for £60,000,000 to be expended on 200,000 cottages costing £300 each, including purchase of land and all other charges.

Assume that in each rural district a Public Utility Society be formed under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, and managed by a committee consisting of (say)

- (1) Chairman and Clerk of the Rural District Council;
- (2) Two nominees of the County Council;
- (3) A local resident nominated by the Local Small Holdings Commissioner for the Board of Agriculture.
- (4) Two representatives of the cottage tenants, to be increased *pari passu* with the reduction of the debt.

For short let us call each Public Utility Society so formed the L.P.U.S.

Refer to clause 2 of the Currency and Bank Notes Act, 1914, and clause 2 of the Amending Act. The former runs as follows:

"Currency notes may be issued to such persons and in such manner as the Treasury direct, but the amount of any notes issued to any person shall, by virtue of this Act and without registration or further assurance, be a floating charge to all other charges, whether under statute or otherwise, on the assets of that person."

The latter is to the following effect:

"The Treasury may, if they think fit, instead of issuing any notes to any person, give to that person a certificate entitling him to the issue, on demand from the Treasury, of the notes mentioned in the certificate; and the notes covered by the certificate shall, for the purposes of section two of the Currency and Bank Notes Act, 1914, be deemed to be notes issued to that person."

It is proposed under these two clauses to issue Currency Certificates to each authorised L.P.U.S. Each Society to have amongst its "rules" a clause forbidding the Society from alienating to individual ownership any part of its property or creating any further mortgage than that constituted under clause 2 of the above Act; so long as any of the Currency notes issued to the Society remain uncanceled.

Suppose that a particular L.P.U.S. has been authorised to build 200 cottages and that the cost is estimated at £60,000 (including land purchase, &c.). The L.P.U.S. receives three Treasury Certificates entitling it to receive in all £60,000 of Treasury notes. One certificate is for (say) £15,000, another for £1,000, and the third for £44,000. All three are deposited with a central committee of the Joint Stock Banks, and against the same the L.P.U.S. opens a drawing account with one or more of the local branches,

with a credit of £60,000 spread over (say) two years. It is assumed that the Treasury certificates are to be dealt with as follows:

- (a) The £1,000 certificate to be "cashed" for Treasury notes at the convenience of the Bankers;
- (b) The Certificate for £15,000 to be held as a "cash" reserve against the new deposits;
- (c) The £44,000 certificate only to be used in case of a breakdown of the scheme and loss resulting to the Banks.

It is, of course, understood that the £60,000 of credit is a special creation of National Credit, and does not diminish the existing deposits of the Bank, but will, of course, have the effect of increasing them.

The L.P.U.S. proceeds to draw cheques to pay:

- (1) Purchase of land;
- (2) Making of roads, drains, &c.;
- (3) Erection of cottages;
- (4) Other expenses (legal, administrative, &c.)

Expenditure under (4) should be small to begin with, and nominal thereafter. This item may be neglected from the point of view here taken, *i.e.* (a) the mode of working the proposed national credit, (b) its financial effects. Consider (1) above—the purchase of land. The L.P.U.S. is going to build 200 cottages distributed in suitable proportions over a score (more or less) of villages within the area of the Rural District Council. At an average of (say) 10 cottages per acre the amount of land required is 20 acres—and this at (say) £50 per acre is £1,000, and cheques totalling that amount pass into the hands of various landowners. Some will be small owners from whom what is called "accommodation land" is bought. With the proceeds of the cheque they will in all probability buy another piece of land sooner or later. In the case of large landowners, the proceeds will go usually either (a) to pay off a mortgage, or (b) to make further improvements, or (c) will be invested in Trustee Securities. Thus in each of the cases assumed the credit created has a brief period of fluid condition and then becomes again "fixed." The original land worth £1,000 is (so to speak) "dismarketed." Any tendency to "inflation" is thus more or less countered in the way indicated and also by an increase of production and efficiency.

Take next the cheques paid to builders, who erect the cottages and also (we will assume) make the roads, drains, etc. Assume that of the balance of £60,000 credit, 5 % goes in roads, drains, &c., 40 % in building materials, 40 % in wages and salaries of supervision and 15 % in the profits of the deal. The problem that here intervenes would be to trace the probable destination of all these items and try to estimate the effects as regards "inflation." The points for special remark are (1) that in most cases the credit will rapidly pass from a fluid to a fixed condition, (2) that only a small margin will be available for speculative purpose, (3) that the operation results in the creation of ultimate products (cottages) of equivalent value, and that these are "dismarketed" during the whole currency of the credit. Thus the tendencies to inflation are not only slight but are possibly more than counterbalanced in increased productivity and efficiency.



Consider now the cancellation of the credit.

The L.P.U.S. fixes the rents of the cottages at a figure estimated to cover :

- (a) Sinking fund to cancel the credit in 60 years;
- (b) Repairs, fire insurance, rent collection, rates, etc.;
- (c) Insurance against loss by non-payment of rents and depreciation in capital value.

In regard to (a) the average cancellation will be 1.2-3 %. It might begin at 1 % and rise by instalments to a figure to make the average 1.2-3 %. Assume (b) is covered by 1½ % and (c) by ½ %.

It is proposed to remunerate the Bankers by allowing them the use of the resulting deposits under certain conditions. It is possible that from this point of view the operation might yield a revenue in addition, and in that case the rents of the cottages could be correspondingly reduced.

But taking the figures as above we have a total annual charge beginning at 2.5-6 (say 3 %) and rising to a figure which gives an average of 3½ %. This would mean an average rent of £10 10s. p.a. or (say) 4s. 1d. per week, and a commencing rent of £9 per annum or (say) 3s. 6d. a week.

Now take the Bankers' point of view. The Joint Stock Banks collectively must be dealt with as a unit. Up to a point *their clearing system makes them such a unit as is required. For the rest they would be asked to extend the clearing system in such wise as to adapt it to the co-ordination required for the present purpose.* Correspondingly there would be a single central body representing the local Public Utility Societies as a whole.

At the end of the first year of the sinking fund operation, the central body of the Public Utility Societies would be in possession of a bank credit of £600,000. By arrangement with the Treasury on one side and the Central Committee of Bankers on the other, this £600,000 of credit could either be cancelled or if the circumstances warranted it, used for some other public purpose. In the former case the Joint Stock Banks would have their holding of Treasury certificates correspondingly reduced. And so on throughout the currency of the credit. Some small allowance would have to be made for the Bankers for non-return of currency, its wear and tear, &c.

The only legislative change apparently needed or desirable would be an amending Currency and Bank Note Act modifying clause (3) of the original Act. This, the convertibility clause, is a mere fiction, and remains as nothing but an empty offering to the ghost of "convertibility."

For the adequate study of this scheme it obviously needs consideration in reference to other prospective financial operations, public and private, such as :

- (a) Settlement of returned soldiers and sailors on the land in smallholding colonies;
- (b) Erection of urban houses for the working classes;
- (c) Afforestation, canalization, &c.;
- (d) The general demand for capital for private and semi-public purposes after the war.

In each case the study would have to be made from the point of view of

- (1) Currency and capital;
- (2) Materials.

From the latter point of view the need for the continuance of some measure of the public control and apportionment of material exercised during the war is manifestly called for, and under this head certain remarks may be made. But first let us recall that the scheme has been put from the point of view mainly of

- (a) The Treasury.
- (b) The Banker.
- (c) The prospective tenants of the proposed national cottages.

Now, without relaxing the above points of view, it is proposed to consider more particularly that of

- (a) The General Consumer.
- (b) The Building Trade.

The public consumer is concerned to adjust his own requirements so as not to compete (unduly) with the demand for material and labour needed for the national cottages. The finance of the scheme must be explained and justified to the public. While the cottages are building the public would thus be prepared to minimize their own demands for building labour and material. The voluntary impulse to building economy on the part of the public thus originating would be re-inforced and ensured by the Government control of raw material (especially timber and metal). The present war-control will in any case (it is generally assumed) be continued in some shape well into the after-war period of reconstruction. With these possibilities of adjustment as between the general demand of the public for building labour and material on the one hand and on the other the national cottage scheme, there need not be any undue competition with its resulting rise of prices.

But it may be urged against the scheme that the addition of nearly £50,000,000 to the Bank Deposits and hence to the potential currency of the nation as a whole will cause some general inflation (with the corresponding rise of general prices) even though the adjustments indicated above, as between the building trade and the public are successfully made. But this objection, though it holds in a certain theoretical sense, may yet be considered in practice effectively to be met by the financial conditions of the scheme itself. These vital conditions of financial operation have already been stated, and may be summarized as follows:—

(a) The new credit promptly brings into existence productive values (the national cottages) of increasing worth and yield as the new rural community gets to work on the land.<sup>1</sup>

(b) That these new values (the national cottages and the corresponding increment of land values) are "dismarketed" (i.e.,

<sup>1</sup> The building of the public cottages might (if the building trade were active) stop a corresponding amount of private building. In that case a certain quantity of potential credit and currency would remain, *for the time being*, unrealized. So that there would result no artificial increase of currency, in the sense of an issue unaccompanied by corresponding value of productive goods and services.

cannot be sold or mortgaged) and remain so "dismarketed" till the whole of the new currency (as represented by bank deposits, notes, etc.,) or its equivalent, is cancelled.

The only further condition required for the safeguarding of the scheme as regards "inflation" is that the Bankers should exercise discretion in the use of the new deposits as a loan fund. The Bankers (taken as a whole) exercise two large and important public functions.

- (a) As Trustees of the great public loan fund represented by their deposits.
- (b) As administrators of the real and effective national currency (i.e. cheques, bills, etc.,) as against the nominal and official currency (i.e. coin and Bank Notes).

These two public functions of the Bankers are apt to conflict with their private interest as traders whose profits are derived from dealing in credit. Just as the goodwill of the public has to be secured by explaining and justifying the scheme to them as competitors for the service of builders, so a special presentation of the scheme has to be made to the Bankers and an appeal made to them in their rôle of Trustees of the public loan fund and administrators of the real national currency.

Turn to the position of the Building Trade. They are concerned in two special ways.

- (a) To see that the national cottage scheme does not raise the price of material and labour by competition with the builders' own demand for these.
- (b) To secure for themselves adequate participation in the construction of the cottages.

The building trade can be met on both these points.

- (a) By the Government control of material.
- (b) By adjustment in the process of demobilization of the naval and military forces.
- (c) By engaging local builders with local labour to erect the national cottages on a footing of public service with public adjustment of prices, profit and labour conditions, i.e., the builders receiving wages of superintendence but no "profit."
- (d) By co-ordinating the national cottage scheme with other building schemes both public and private, treating all building whatsoever as elements in "town-planning" and "village-planning."

An appeal has to be made to the Builder as to the Banker and the General Consumer to look upon this scheme (and all other similar ones) as an opportunity for a closer correlation of their own private affairs with the public service. The financial principles underlying the scheme do not depend for their validity upon the goodwill of any of the parties concerned.

But its practical success in operation would be measured by the accord and co-operation of each of the three chief parties, viz., the Banker, the Builder and the General Consumer. This accord and co-operation is to be secured by showing

- (a) That the scheme is desirable, even necessary, on the grounds of Public Policy.

- (b) That it contains no item of novelty except the administrative machinery for working it and the method of its control.
- (c) That its financial principle is just what is practised every day in the circles of the larger commerce and of "high finance," viz., the present creation of credit in anticipation of future goods and services.
- (d) That this financial principle is invoked directly for public welfare instead of for private profit.
- (e) The credit so created is supervised and controlled in the public interest throughout its whole cycle, and can at the close of the cycle be completely cancelled or if need be used again for public works.
- (f) Inflation takes place only if the aggregate of credit is increased without a corresponding increase of productive transactions, i.e. of productive goods and services passing in acts of purchase.



## A COMPENSATED SOVEREIGN.

## ONE PRACTICAL REMEDY FOR RISING OR FALLING PRICES.

THE close of the war will doubtless see a great revival of interest in monetary questions because of the issues of paper currency and the virtual depreciation of monetary units as recorded in the international exchanges. There will doubtless be a number of plans advanced, including many which are unsound. Perhaps bi-metallism at a ratio which would inflate the currency, or irredeemable paper money will be advocated. Such schemes usually follow war conditions, monetary expansion and war debts, which introduce special motives for depreciation. Consequently the whole question of stable or unstable standards is likely to emerge from its academic associations and become one of great practical importance. It will, then, be of increasing interest to inquire (1) what standard of value is ideally the best, and (2) what plans are available for making the monetary unit conform to such a standard. The present article relates to the second of these questions, not the first.

The plan described below is one by which the value of the monetary unit can be kept true to any required standard, whatever that standard may be. In presenting the plan, however, I shall assume that the required standard is a standard of constant purchasing power over commodities—that is a standard such that the general level of prices will remain constant. The problem, then, is to so modify the present monetary system as to make the purchasing power of the sovereign always equal to a fixed average quantity of commodities.

The original use of money was that of a medium of exchange. When gold was settled upon as the best form of money because of its portability, durability, divisibility and concentration of large value in small bulk, money had practically no function as a standard for deferred payments. The need for such a standard did not then exist. Now, however, when this function of money has taken on such tremendous importance, it has become apparent that gold is not especially suited to fill this need for a standard of deferred payments, because it is subject to the vicissitudes of the industry of gold mining. At different times in the world's history, the supply of gold has been greatly increased through the discovery of new deposits or the invention of new methods of metallurgy, and at other times, the mines have been comparatively exhausted and gold very scarce. Moreover, the value of gold is subject to numerous other influences, such as the volume of credit, the volume of trade, and all the conditions which lie back of these factors. For a detailed study of the instability of gold as it appears in the long period of falling prices from 1873—1896 and the period of rising prices since 1897 I commend to the reader Sir David Barbour's "The Standard of Value."

The plan for a compensated dollar or sovereign aims to standardize the unit of purchasing power, as all other units of measurement such as the pound, the yard, the ohm, the kilowatt,

etc., have been standardized. At present the sovereign is constant in weight, but varies in purchasing power. What is needed is just the reverse, a sovereign made constant in purchasing power, by its ability to vary in weight.

The plan is very simple. It is virtually to vary the amount of gold in the dollar or sovereign to the extent necessary to keep its purchasing power invariable. As fast as each grain of gold lost in purchasing power the sovereign would be supplied with the requisite number of additional grains to make up the original purchasing power of the sovereign, and, reversely as fast as a grain gained the unit would be deprived of the proper number of grains of gold.

But how is this increase or decrease in the weight of the sovereign to be accomplished? This question resolves itself into two parts (1) How can we know what the increase (or decrease) in the weight of the sovereign should be? And (2) how can weight be added (or taken from the sovereign) without recoinage?

In answer to the first question, the reader is referred to the device called an "index number" of prices, now a well-known and generally accepted means of securing information as to changes in the general price level. Some dozen or more systems of index numbers are already computed, such as the index number of the United States Department of Labour, the Economist, Sauerbeck, Bradstreet, the British Board of Trade, the Annalist, Gibson, etc. By the use of such an index number, the change in the price level from month to month or quarter to quarter can be accurately ascertained and the required weight added to the sovereign to maintain its purchasing power unchanged. Thus if the index number at any date should show the price level to have risen 1% above the par from which the system started, then 1% would be added to the weight of the sovereign.

Before answering the second question, it is necessary to remember that at present when a miner takes gold to the mint or the Bank of England he receives one sovereign, in coined or paper money, for every 123.27 grains of gold bullion 11 12 fine. Similarly, if a jeweller presents coined or paper money he receives therefor 123.27 grains of gold bullion for every sovereign. In essence, then, the government buys gold from the miner and sells it to the jeweller, at the rate of 123.27 grains per sovereign; and, since there are 480 grains in an ounce Troy, we find that the government buys and sells gold for  $480/123.27$  or £3 17s. 10½d. an ounce. The proposal to increase or decrease the amount of gold in a bullion-sovereign becomes, then, a proposal for the government to lower or raise the mint price of gold bullion. Thus, if the index number of prices showed that there had been an increase in the price level of 1% in the last period (month or quarter or whatever period is settled upon), the mint price of gold would be lowered about 1%, which is the same as saying that the weight of the sovereign would be increased 1%.

And now as to the second question itself—how to avoid recoinage,—the simplest method is to have no coinage, to withdraw gold entirely from circulation, and have instead paper representatives like the gold certificates of the United States; these are simply



warehouse receipts for gold. Under this plan, when gold was taken to the government it would not be coined, but certificates would be issued therefor. Gold would then exist only as gold bullion and the only gold sovereign would be a *virtual* sovereign. A gold bar weighing 1232/70 grains would contain 1000 virtual sovereigns of 123.27 grains each. Hence when the index number showed that there should be an increase of 1% in the weight of the sovereign, no difficulty would arise in making this addition, since it would merely mean that the miner would need to present 1% more than 123.27 grains, 11/12 fine for each paper sovereign received.\*

But as I have shown elsewhere, the requirement that gold should be withdrawn from circulation is not really necessary. If it is deemed important for reasons of national prejudice, for instance, to maintain gold in physical circulation, this presents no real difficulties. But there is not space here to enter into this complication.

\* To prevent possible speculation in gold as by buying of the government to-day and reselling to the government to-morrow at a higher price, one important requirement of the plan is that the change in the price of gold at any one time should not exceed some certain amount, say 1%, and that the government should charge that much more to those who buy gold of it than it pays to those who sell gold to it. Thus the government would in effect charge 1% commission for its services. The Bank of England now does something similar, paying £1. 17s. 9d. per ounce to the public for gold bullion and receiving £1. 17s. 10½d. from the government.

## REVIEWS.

### THE VICTORIAN PEACE.

THE NATURE OF PEACE. By Thorstein Veblen. (The Macmillan Co., New York.)

THE CHOICE BEFORE US. By G. Lowes Dickenson. (George Allen and Unwin, Ltd.).

WHILE Mr. Lowes Dickenson paints a gloomy picture of the militaristic developments that lie before us unless we can avert wars and the danger of wars by a League of Nations, Mr. Veblen uses his remarkable analytic powers to describe with pitiless realism the "Victorian peace" from which we have emerged and which presumably the 'League of Nations' is to re-establish. It is a choice which seems to promise little to the world in either direction. On the one side, a world run by and for financiers and profiteers; and on the other, a world either at war or under the stress of constant preparation for war to a degree as yet unknown, and under the direction of despotic state governments. The two writers are strangely complementary, though not intentionally so, but the two books can by no means be put on the same level. Mr. Lowes Dickenson's is a mere pamphlet of larger size written for the purposes of the moment, and not claiming to look beyond its exigencies, while Mr. Veblen's book is one of those pieces of masterly analysis of a complicated social situation which he has accustomed us to expect from his pen. But Mr. Veblen does not stop at an analysis of the Victorian peace, he deals also, in the chapter "On the Conditions of a Lasting Peace," with the condition of mind of the

German people. Here he points out that a special evil of the German state system is, that it has succeeded in suppressing all independence of mind among the Intellectuals. "It plainly appears" (p. 116) "that the Intellectuals are to be counted as supernumeraries, except so far as they serve as an instrument of publicity and indoctrination in the hands of the discretionary authorities." An intellectual of Mr. Veblen's type cannot avoid feeling that such a state of things makes even the Victorian peace desirable by contrast, but he does not seem to have any positive theory of the "Spiritual Power" to put forward as a remedy. In short, his purpose is to point out evils rather than to lead the way definitely towards better things. But within these limits is there any writer of this or any other age that can match his insight and unbiassed penetration into the realities underlying the fair phrases with which our governing classes instinctively cover the condition of things which has produced these classes and in which they flourish? Mr. Veblen tears away these veils spun over the naked reality of things and shows us, for example, that the whole system of modern business and manufacture was based on an organised system of "sabotage" by the employers, i.e., that it involved in its very essence a systematic diminution of output far below what the plant and resources concerned would produce if employed to their full capacity, in order to keep up the price. Thus an intentional and perpetual impoverishment of the community is inherent in the system. "A conservative estimate of this one item of capitalistic sabotage could scarcely appraise it at less than a 25 per cent. reduction from the normally possible productive capacity of the community, at an average over any considerable period; and a somewhat thorough review of the pertinent facts would probably persuade any impartial observer that, one year with another, such businesslike enforced idleness of plant and personnel lowers the actual output of the country's industry by something nearer 50 per cent. of its ordinary capacity when fully employed" (pp. 172-173). Any counter sabotage on the part of the employees for their own purposes is, of course, now seen to be a mere answer in kind, a natural rather than, as usually represented, a merely wrong-headed and wicked proceeding. But it is impossible within the limits of a short review to do Mr. Veblen justice. The book should be read and re-read, and it should be taken into careful consideration by all those who are preparing to deal with the problems of reconstruction. It will at least enable them to see clearly what they are doing in so far as they endeavour to reconstruct the 'Victorian peace.'

S. B.

THE WORLD'S DEBATE: AN HISTORICAL DEFENCE OF THE ALLIES. By William Barry, D.D. (Hodder and Stoughton.) 3/6.

IN this historical sketch of European history for the past three hundred years Dr. Barry expresses the reaction of the Christian soul, that feels itself first a member of the Kingdom of God and therefore of the commonwealth of Christendom, against the claims of autocratic monarchy, and indeed of any form of state despotism. He shows us how such claims of rulers to despotic power, held in check during the mediæval period by "the quarrel hardly ever pausing, between the Sacerdotium and the Imperium, or spiritual independence and secular force," developed again after the Reformation, and how the German Kaiser is but the latest embodiment of them. He shows us Catholic Christianity, as by its nature the champion of civil liberties, and the very declaration of Papal Infallibility in 1870 as the almost necessary counterblast to the doctrine of state absolutism. Such a view of history should be peculiarly useful to English men and women,

used as we are to an insular, rather than a European, way of regarding the problems of Europe and accustomed to think of the Papal struggle with our earlier kings merely as the attempt of foreigners to interfere in England. But we cannot separate our own history, our own problems, from those of Europe as a whole, and that at last we are now forced to realise. Dr. Barry, while a true lover of England and of all for which England stands, feels himself also a son of Europe, and he hates Prussianism not only as the enemy of England, but of that Europe that he loves, of Christendom and all that it meant, while it was a reality, that it would mean if it became a reality once more. Dr. Barry, in short, as a champion of the Spiritual Power, can make no terms with any Temporal Power that claims to be supreme over the destinies of men. He sees that the essence of the Spiritual Power consists in freedom, that it works by love, not force and fear, and that England, in restraining its kings, has unwittingly been on its side.

Dr. Barry's account of the "kulturkampf" of Bismarck and his ultimate defeat by the Church is full of interest, and so is his account of the meaning of "kultur." "Kultur," he says, "is the idea of mechanism made perfect," and the pattern of Prussia is Sparta.

The book is immensely readable, it is full of personal reminiscences and personal charm, but it is much more than this, it represents a sane and wide view of history and political philosophy, which is in many points remote from that held by the average Englishman, but all the more needed to counteract our insular ways of thinking. As an interesting coincidence may be noted a statement by Dr. Barry in a recent number of *The Bookman*, that, while his own book was in the press, he happened to read "The Coming Polity," by Professor Geddes and Mr. Branford, and discovered that the philosophy of "the State" put forward in that book was closely similar to his own, and even at times expressed in almost identical terms.

S. B.

#### LABOUR PROBLEMS IN AMERICA.

NEW IDEALS IN BUSINESS. By Ida M. Tarbell. Macmillan. 1916. 7/6 net.

THE ORGANIZABILITY OF LABOUR. By Wm. O. Weyforth, Ph.D. Johns Hopkins Press. 1917.

THE optimism of Miss Tarbell's book is somewhat exuberant, but it is valuable to have it placed on record with such a wealth of illustrative detail that some at least of the more successful business men in America find it to their advantage to consider their employees. The avoidance of economic waste is the note of this book. Ill-lighted, ill-ventilated workshops, dust and dirt, ugly surroundings, ignorance and ill-health among workers, are causes of waste; the worker has got to be healthy, happy and intelligent, or, so we gather, the employer must know the reason why. The psychology of the worker is not forgotten, and some of the most advanced factories are surrounded by gardens, lawns, and trees, because "such consideration . . . has a direct stimulating effect on the health and efficiency of the operatives." Even that terrible problem of modern industry, the destructive effects on the worker of intense speed, has, it is claimed, been solved on economic lines. In cotton spinning mills, "in several cases speeds were reduced in order to get the best results . . . the revolutions per minute of the spinning spindles were reduced from 8,800 to 7,600 simply because it was a more efficient speed" (p. 211). It is all very hopeful and promising, and yet leaves the reader a little cold. In Europe

the events of 1916-1917 have raised some doubts as to the validity of economic efficiency as the ideal and aim of social life. The most interesting passage of Miss Tarbell's book is perhaps the description on pp. 324-5 of certain factories where an organization has been set up to give the employees a voice in the management and control. Even the most benevolent and scientific arrangements imposed by the employer will not still "industrial unrest" until the conditions of industry give more scope and play to the worker not merely as worker, but as a human mind and soul.

In Dr. Weyforth's monograph we have a readable contribution to the growing literature of trade-unionism, framed on the lines of "descriptive economics," with numerous references to sources and authorities. The most interesting portions of the book are those which deal with the problems more specifically American in character, such as the enormous extent of country and the large proportion of imperfectly assimilated immigrants. The racial difficulty does not, however, trouble Dr. Weyforth much, as he believes it to be exaggerated. A statistical investigation made after Prof. Pearson's methods showed that organization is not hindered by the presence of foreign-born workers (p. 176), which will interest readers of Miss Henry's clever book, "The Trade Union Women," where the Slavic Jewess is described as the most promising material of trade unionism. The racial difficulty appears to be mainly one aspect of the question of the relation of unskilled to skilled labour. Dr. Weyforth thinks co-operation is increasing steadily and that more attention is being given to the unskilled. (p. 262). An important factor in the growth of trade unionism is the attitude of public opinion, which is more favourable than formerly, and shows a curious *volte-face* in regard to the immigrant. In 1894 "ignorant foreign workmen" were accused of organizing labour unions; in 1910 the same class is accused of keeping out of them (p. 257). The change of tone is instructive.

Dr. Weyforth's style and temper are less buoyant than Miss Tarbell's, and he has kept rigidly to his subject-matter as indicated in the title, and abstained from any theoretical statement of the philosophy of trade unionism or its relation to society as a whole. But as the plain story of the efforts of working men and women to associate for their common good, it will be found full of interest.

B. L. H.

#### ERASTIANS ALL.

COMPETITION: A STUDY IN HUMAN MOTIVE, written for "The Collegium."  
Macmillan & Co., Ltd.

"THE State is the expression and organ of our national fellowship, and distrust of the State is rooted in our failure to appreciate that fellowship."  
"The mere existence of the police force, for instance, and still more the fact that many people regard it as the normal symbol of the State, is evidence enough that human society has not actually achieved fellowship." It is of course the tax gatherer (with the soldier, as well as the policeman, behind him) who is the more normal symbol of the State, but the attempt, usual enough, to as it were whitewash the State is here somewhat remarkable, as showing the confusion in the minds of those who should best understand it between the nature and functions of the temporal and spiritual powers.

"The Collegium" is the name taken by a group of Christian thinkers, who meet together for prayer and discussion of the problems of the present

day and put forward their joint results in what will presumably be a series of books, of which this on "Competition" is the forerunner. As they have, apparently, chosen not to consider such preliminary questions as the nature of the State or of the community, they make use of common assumptions and fall into the prevalent Erastianism from which they surely exist to help others to emerge! Yet while this group appears to confuse the functions of the spiritual power in a community with those of the temporal, giving to Caesar that which should be given to God, this is a condition of mind from which it may well free itself. It seems to be already feeling its way towards the conception of a common spiritual power for Europe, for, in default of any better exponent of the idea, the writers quote one Gerlach, described as "a conservative Prussian statesman of the old school," who, in the course of a correspondence with Bismarck, deprecated exclusive devotion to "king and country," and claimed that some other principle should be maintained, and that in the middle ages this was supplied by the Christian church. This seems to be quoted in absolute ignorance of the fact that the co-ordinate importance of the spiritual with the temporal power and its use in constituting the common soul of Europe had ever been maintained by any body of secular writers! This ignorance of French thought has been brought about in the past largely, no doubt, by prejudice, religious and social, which the circumstances of the present day tend to dissipate. Surely in the impending revolt against that Prussian "Statism" which has brought the world to its present condition the belief in the spiritual power will again appeal to the hearts and minds of men and women! Such a movement as the "Collegium" must itself surely tend to the re-consideration of present day assumptions. It is a movement of the greatest interest and should lead to notable results. Already in their putting forward of "fellowship" as their ideal of aim and method this group has gained a standpoint of inestimable value. In their recognition that human nature is "no fixed and constant quantity" they point out the way in which Eutopia can be realized, and in setting up as their ideal the Kingdom of Heaven upon earth they determine to work towards realizing it. Such a group of Christian thinkers is long overdue, but let us be thankful that these times, however evil, have seen its birth.

S. B.

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NATIONALISM, WAR AND SOCIETY (by E. Krepkil, Ph.D., with introduction by Norman Angell, New York, 1916) is a mixture of a book of reference and a collection of thought-provoking if somewhat indigestible lecture-notes on the subjects indicated by the title. Its three parts deal respectively with Nationalism (the words nation and state being treated as synonyms), the effect of modern conditions upon national rivalries, and 'progressive' forces seeking to overcome faults of nationalism and establish an order of things in agreement with the evolution of society. This last section contains a good deal of handy information about peace movements, but the whole book reads strangely in the light of recent events, and the new alignment of democratic forces. It will be interesting to watch the effect of President Wilson's categorical refusal to admit any but democracies into a 'League of Honour' upon the programmes of the various "progressive" bodies set forth in the book. Mr. Angell's introduction is the best part of the book. It re-emphasizes his familiar plea that "policy" must accompany armament, and that democracies must think out and control their foreign policy.

A. E. Z.



# THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOL. VIII. No. 4. OCTOBER, 1915—JANUARY, 1916.

## EDITORIAL NOTES.

During the autumn months a Civic Survey of Westminster and of Chelsea was carried on by a group of architects and artists under the auspices of the Cities Committee of the Sociological Society and the Civics Laboratory of Crosby Hall. The resulting drawings and diagrams were exhibited at the Rooms of the Society in December. Those responsible for the Survey hope to commence its publication in book form at no distant date. The first instalment of the Westminster Survey will appear under the title "Westminster, historic, contemporary and incipient—an Interpretative Survey and Outline of Policy." For this a member of the Committee has written the letterpress. The greater part of his introductory chapter on method, and the whole of that on the mediæval city, appear in this number of the REVIEW. The Cities Committee, it should be explained, was formed in 1908 to promote civic sociology. Its work is partly outside the scope of the Sociological Society, which therefore, it will be clear, takes no responsibility for the facts and views expressed in the Survey.

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The immediate occasion for the Westminster and Chelsea Survey was provided by the war. To meet the dislocation of the architectural profession caused by the general stoppage of building, there was organised, mainly through the efforts of the Royal Institute of British Architects, a series of civic surveys at various places throughout the country. The Cities Committee of the Sociological Society may fairly claim some share in this initiative, if not directly yet indirectly, for they have taken no inconsiderable part in the long-continued exposition and propagandism to substantiate the idea of the civic survey, to clarify its purpose and to work out its method. In all these respects much remains to be done. And it was in part with a view towards supplementing the efforts of the R.I.B.A. that the Cities Committee commenced the Westminster and Chelsea survey last autumn. Only in the smallest way was it possible to organise the survey as a war relief measure. But a more ambitious hope was entertained of influencing in a sociological direction the method and the purpose of the numerous surveys now being carried on under the direction of the R.I.B.A. But the appeal is not only to architects and to town-planners. It is even more to educationists and citizens in general. As "Nature Study" has now happily established itself in the schools as the right method—at once visual, first-hand, open-air—of approaching the several natural sciences, so the civic survey is advocated as the



similar concrete and complementary way of beginning the study of the several social sciences, including amongst these both history and human geography.

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A further claim is made by the advocates of the civic survey and its counterpart the rural survey, which together combine into the Regional Survey. Starting out in the detached and dispassionate spirit of the naturalist to observe things as they are, the regional surveyor passes on to the study of how they have become as they are; and as the final reward of his research he begins to see something of the whither they are tending. From the observation of actual tendencies, the student is led on, by natural and even inevitable sequence, to a valuation of such tendencies. Ethical considerations thus emerge, and a bridge is thereby built for the passage from theory to practice, from science to art. Hence it is claimed that the regional survey, by its interpretations of historical values, constitutes the natural basis, grounded in the essential significance of things, on which to rear a framework of practical policy. Or, as the writer of the article in this number of the REVIEW puts it, "an interpretative survey has its final purpose and justification in the outline of policy which it yields and which is really its extension into the world of practice."

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The opening paper—Mr. Zimmern's "Nationality and Government"—raises issues of the first importance. What relation does the concept of the "State" hold to that of the "Nation"? That is a question underlying alike the tasks of European reconstruction and the problems of clear political thinking which should prepare for the work of practical statesmanship. Mr. Zimmern's own answer to the question he raises turns on the contrast between the objective and the subjective aspects of public life. On the one side are the material forces of government—administrative officialdom, law courts, police and military and naval forces, etc. On the other are the immaterial influences that mould public sentiment and form public opinion. Mr. Zimmern sees the former set of forces, under certain conditions, concentrating as the "State"; the latter as the "Nation." It is an interesting hypothesis and merits the most thoroughgoing investigation and discussion. A symposium on it is being organised, by which we hope to collect the views of representative thinkers both inside and outside the Society. Their contributions will appear in the next issue of the REVIEW. We should be glad to receive communications on the subject from members.

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One of the predictions to which the war has given rise is that the concept of Empire will give place to general European vogue to that of Commonwealth; and in this connection it is significant to note that the most thoughtful and scholarly group of British Imperialists already begin to speak of the British Commonwealth. Another current forecast is that in the *post-bellum* reconstruction

of the occidental world, its states and nations will begin to mass themselves in three large groups—two nucleating round the present belligerents and a third aggregating as Pan-America. If both these predictions be based on real and dominant tendencies, there should be a movement towards a Rhine-Danube group of Commonwealths, a Pan-American group and a third with less unified geographical basis. All such speculations are desirable in so far as they stimulate first-hand study of realities, especially such as can be tested by recourse to history and geography. Mr. Wicksteed's article in the present number suggests some of the broad lines on which such studies might proceed. His idea of an "Atlantic Fellowship" is happily phrased and should provoke discussion. Concurrently there should be studied such incipient actualities as the movement in the United States for closer political relations with Great Britain, which is manifesting itself in various forms, amongst others a call for a *post-bellum* naval entente. That, as other American movements of significant content and larger outlook, may best be followed in the pages of the "New Republic," an organ which in a remarkably short space of time has become for many English readers an indispensable guide to reflective and informed opinion in the United States.

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In the programme for the present term there are two general meetings of exceptional interest. Mrs. St. Clair Stobart (Mrs. Greenhalgh) will give an address on "The Meaning of the War from a Woman's Point of View." The fact that Mrs. Stobart went through both the Balkan Wars and also was with the Serbian army throughout its last stand in the present war constitutes but a part of her warrant to interpret war from a woman's point of view. Mrs. Stobart's writings give evidence that she combines in unusual degree mental qualities seldom found together in either sex. To clear thought and large vision she adds sympathetic insight and dramatic power. By good fortune the Society will also have on its platform this term a French thinker and writer who represents one of the less noticed but not least significant movements which have constituted, so to speak, the spiritual preparation for the present intimacy of the Franco-English Alliance. M. Paul Mantoux, some fifteen years ago, published a large work on "The Industrial Revolution," for which the preliminary studies were made mainly in England. By this work M. Mantoux contributed to the growing number of specialised researches on English movements, social, economic and literary, by which French writers have of late given us new clues to the interpretation of our own history and institutions. Recognition of M. Mantoux's labours and services was made two years ago when he was offered and accepted a specially created chair in the University of London. On the outbreak of war he joined the French army at the front. At present he is in London on a special mission. His paper to the Society will address itself to the question of what lesson we may read from the war as to how far the individual is a cause of historical events and how far such events are brought about by impersonal social forces.

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Professor Fleure, of Aberystwyth, will read a paper this term on "Berlin and its Region" at a meeting of the Cities Committee, convened to consider a proposal to organise a series of studies on "The War Capitals in Relation to their Regions, considered historically and geographically." It is not proposed that the studies should be in any sense of a general and popular character, but as recondite and technical as the available specialist resources necessitate. But members who are interested in geographical and historical studies are invited to hear Professor Fleure's paper, so far as the limited accommodation at the Society's rooms permits. Those desiring to be present should send a postcard to the Assistant Secretary to ascertain date and hour of the meeting.

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Amongst public activities connected with the war, initiated or directed in part by members of the Society, two recent movements of special interest, in a sociological sense, may be noted. The first is an organised endeavour to bring home to the public and maintain in individual consciousness, the moral issues at stake between the two groups of belligerents. Statements of the aims and scope of the "Fight for Right" movement are being issued from its offices (Trafalgar House, Waterloo Place). A fuller and more reasoned exposition—as clear as it is persuasive—appears in the current number of the "Quest" by Sir Francis Younghusband, the founder of the movement. Another interesting adventure of moral purpose and sociological import is a scheme of ten lectures on "Ideals in Social Reconstruction" initiated and organised by a lady member of the Society. The lectures will take place in the Queen's (Small) Hall, Langham Place, on Saturdays at three, beginning February 12th.

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THE Editors of the REVIEW have to apologise to members for delay in its issue and also for curtailment of its size. The REVIEW has never been self-supporting, and to aid the Society in its publication a guarantee fund was created, which terminated unfortunately in this very year of national stress and strain. The Council of the Society has therefore hesitated to ask the guarantors to renew their support and is endeavouring for the time being to continue the REVIEW with such means as are at its disposal. But in this interval of impoverishment it becomes necessary to institute economies. The first is to reduce the number of pages in the REVIEW, and another is to make fewer than the customary four issues per annum. How much curtailment in both respects may be necessary in the course of the year cannot at the moment be determined. But the Council will make every endeavour to diminish the publication as little as possible.

NATIONALITY AND GOVERNMENT.<sup>1</sup>*Introductory Note.*

The following paper was originally written to be read aloud, without thought of publication. In committing it to the printer it should be stated, to guard against any possible misunderstanding, that it is, purely and simply, a critical examination of ideas, not a condemnation of projects. Criticism of 'the principle of Nationality' does not imply any want of sympathy with those who proclaim it as their watchword: nor does criticism of the 'international' solutions proposed in some quarters imply any hostility towards the aims of their framers. The sole object has been to pierce below the surface to the real meaning of the ideas and phrases in question in the belief that, as confused thinking must always lead to mistakes and disillusionment, so right thinking is the necessary prelude to a wise and consistent idealism.

THERE is no more important duty at the present moment for those who can spare the time and the thought from more practical tasks than the close and searching analysis of political ideas. The war is being waged about ideas, and the settlement at its close will be determined by ideas. Yet those ideas, and the words in which they are embodied for current discussion, are often vague, confused and even contradictory: so that different words are used to express the same meaning, and the same word used to express several different meanings. My aim in the present paper is to interpret as clearly and definitely as I can what I conceive to be the meaning and importance of two such ideas, in the name of which thousands have laid down their lives in the last sixteen months—the idea of nationality and the idea of citizenship.

My object is not to persuade or convert, but simply to elucidate and to clarify. To many people my views on the subject, put on half a sheet of notepaper, would seem pure platitude: others may think them utterly paradoxical. I shall be satisfied if I really make them plain, and if I succeed in provoking a discussion which ends in everybody feeling clearer in their own minds as to the views they respectively hold.

Argument on abstract subjects is much more inspiring and much easier to follow if it is enlivened by criticism. I propose therefore, not baldly and blankly to state my own views first, but

1. A paper read before the Sociological Society, November 30, 1915, Professor Graham Wallas in the chair.

to lead up to them by examining certain prevalent phrases or catch-words which have lately passed into common currency among the public, without perhaps receiving their due share of criticism and cross examination.

The first word which I will put in the dock is the word "international." I am constantly meeting people who profess what they call international sympathies, who belong to international clubs or promote international causes or study international relations. Being international myself, in a precise sense of the word, I am anxious to know exactly what they mean. So far as I am able to make out, the word international has about seven different meanings. For the moment I only want to distinguish two of them—or rather, to divide the seven into two groups. Half the people who use the word international are thinking of something which concerns one or more nations: the other half are thinking of something which concerns one or more Sovereign States. When we speak of an English international footballer we mean a man who has represented England against Wales or Scotland or Ireland. We are not concerned with the purely political question whether Scotland, Ireland and Wales are Sovereign States independent of England. Similarly, if we speak of a writer having an international reputation we mean that his books are read by people of many different nations and have possibly been translated into many different languages—into German, Italian, Bohemian, Polish, Finnish, Serbo-Croat, and so on. Similarly, when we speak of an international movement we mean that it has taken root in many different countries—in Germany, Italy, Canada, Finland, Syria, and so on—irrespective of the question whether these countries form part of one or more Sovereign States. But when we talk of "international law" or "an International Concert of the Powers" on the other hand, we are using the word in quite a different sense. We are dealing with quite a different method of classification: we are thinking of the world as consisting, not of nations, but of States. For the international football player Canada, South Africa and Australia would all be separate units, while the various Central American States, if they wanted to produce a team, would probably have to club together to do so. But for the international lawyer Canada, South Africa and Australia are merged in the British Commonwealth, Bohemia merged in Austria-Hungary, Syria in the Ottoman Empire and Finland in the Russian, while Nicaragua, Bolivia, Montenegro and Liberia are classified separately, as Sovereign States, ostensibly on a level with the Great Powers. Just as Rhode Island and Texas are both equally component members of the American Union, so the representatives of Montenegro and Russia, Ecuador and Great Britain would sit side by side in a world congress of Sovereign States, from which the

representatives of great civilized communities like Canada and Australia would be excluded.

This distinction between Nationality and Statehood, thus revealed in the double use of the word "international," is so simple that it seems strange that it should be necessary to call attention to it at all. Looked at in the light of concrete instances it is as clear as daylight. Scotland is a nation and not a State. So is Poland. So is Finland. So is Australia. Austria-Hungary is a State and not a nation. So is the Ottoman Empire. So is the British Commonwealth. So is the United States. It may not be easy to define exactly what a State is. It is certainly not easy to define exactly what a nation is. But at least it ought to be easy to perceive that there is a difference between the two.

Yet how many current catchwords there are which have acquired their vogue simply by slurring that difference over! If matters which affected two or more States were always called "inter-State" instead of "international," and the word "international" confined to its strict sense, some of those who have the word most often on their lips would discover, perhaps with a shock, that much of what they are pleading for is already embodied in contemporary life. We are in fact living in what is, in the strictest sense, an international society. For good or for evil, the modern world is a large-scale world, and, as Mr. Norman Angell truly pointed out, its most characteristic institutions, those connected with finance, industry and commerce, are largely international in character. And not only business, but other departments of life have become international also. Science and art, philanthropy and even sport have followed the financiers. Toynbee Hall, the mother of settlements, has scores of children in the United States. The hats that are worn in Paris one season are worn at Athens and Bucharest the next: and if the climate forbids young Italians and Greeks from indulging in English athletic pursuits, they can at least pay tribute to the internationalism of sport by appearing in English sporting costumes. The ideas which are in vogue in London and Berlin to-day are the talk of New York and Chicago to-morrow, and long after they have been exploded in the Old World continue to form the staple of leader writers in the New. Good books, and even bad books, if sufficiently striking and well advertised, are read and quoted all over the world. Mr. Norman Angell and General Bernhardi have done the Grand Tour together: and each is now engaged in the Herculean task of correcting what have become international interpretations or misinterpretations of their views. The modern world is in fact international to the core. Its internationalism lies in the nature of things. It is neither to its credit nor to its discredit. Internationalism is neither good nor bad in the abstract: it depends on the nature of its manifestations. The



German Wolff Bureau is international; so is the White Slave traffic; so is the Anti-Slavery Society. It rests with men and women of goodwill to see that the good manifestations prevail over the evil; but, judging from past history, the devil generally has the first innings. International institutions and international philanthropic efforts have followed international abuses, as the policeman follows the malefactor or as the agents of civilized governments follow, in 'undeveloped' countries, the roving emissaries of private capitalist enterprise.

Nor has this internationalism, this inter-communication between the families of mankind, been abruptly cut short by the war. On the contrary it has been immensely extended. Never before have the communities and races of men met and mingled as they are meeting and mingling to-day. The war, which has touched all five continents of the world, has turned the earth into a vast mixing-bowl where men, and to no inconsiderable extent women also, are coming together and exchanging experiences. The rival combatants and their prisoners can perhaps learn little from one another: but think of the Allied armies and their encampments on either side! For the illiterate millions of Russia, with its wonderful assortment of nationalities, war, with its camp-fire talk, has always been a great educator. The Russian army might be described as a great national and international school. But with the Western allies it is almost more so. Was there ever a more international expedition than the army at the Dardanelles? It comprised Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotsmen, Frenchmen, Senegalese, Sikhs, Gurkhas, Australians, New Zealanders, Maoris, and a contingent of Hebrew-speaking Jews from Palestine. Compare the catalogue of Sir Ian Hamilton's troops with the catalogue of the Greek and Trojan forces conveniently provided for us in the second book of the "Iliad," and you will get some measure of the increased power of man over nature since Homer's day, and of the internationalism which has inevitably resulted from it.

What then do a certain school of idealists really mean when they consider themselves a small group of internationalists in a world that will not listen to their doctrine? What they really mean, of course, is not that the modern world is not international in many of its habits and ways of thought, but that, in spite of its internationalism, it is still a tragically mismanaged place. It may be a single society, but that society has so little control over its life, or the members of it have such low ideals, that it is from time to time rent by such conflicts as we see to-day. Why, they complain, cannot the different communities of the world sit down together and cultivate the arts of Peace?

The criticism contained in remarks such as these is really a two-fold one. It is one thing to say that the world is wicked. It

is quite another to say that it is badly organized. The school of thought to which I am referring really combines two quite separate lines of policy. There is the policy directed towards making the world better, and the policy directed towards making the world better organised, irrespective of the fact whether or not that organisation is based on moral principles. Let us take the former policy first. The policy which seems to make the world better aims at promoting internationalism in its better, and at counteracting it in its worse, manifestations. It seeks to promote anti-Slavery Societies and to counteract the White Slave traffic. It seeks to promote happier and friendlier relations between nations and to counteract the international phenomenon that has become known as "Prussianism" in whatever quarter it originates and over however many countries it may spread. It seeks in fact to serve humanity by raising its moral level. One may criticise the phraseology or note the omissions in the programme of this group of thinkers: but for their outlook and their ideals one can have nothing but admiration. Men like M. Romain Rolland and women like Miss Jane Addams are the salt of the earth; if everybody were like Miss Addams the evil manifestations of internationalism would disappear for want of a public, and world-government itself,—the inter-State problem—would be greatly simplified. It is easy to pick holes in the views expressed by this school of thinkers on the questions at issue in the inter-State sphere, but it is a thankless task to do so, since those problems are not really what they are concerned about. They are not interested in the purely political side of inter-State relations. Their object is not to establish a reasonable minimum of Justice and Liberty in a world of imperfect human beings. Their object is to make those imperfect people better, to combat malice, hatred and uncharitableness among all the belligerent peoples from their rulers and foreign ministers downwards. All power to their elbow! Only let us whisper one caution in their ear as they go on their errand of mercy—the famous caution of George Washington: "Influence is not government." However good and reasonable you may make people, there still remains over, for all of us who are not theoretical anarchists, the technical political question of the adjustment of the relations between the different Sovereign States.

I pass to the second line of policy—that which is directed not towards making men better (that, it is recognized, is too lengthy a process to meet the immediate emergency), but rather to averting war by making the world better organised—by improving the efficiency of the world's political machinery. This line of policy aims at the setting up of what is called an international or super-national organisation to ensure the peace of the world. Mr. Sidney Webb, for instance, is giving a lecture this very evening on "The

Supernational Authority which will Prevent War" and Mr. J. A. Hobson has written a book on the same theme under the title "Towards International Government." A pedant might criticise Mr. Hobson's title by saying that international government is a thing we have with us already—in Russia, in Turkey, in Austria-Hungary, in the British Commonwealth. Some of these governments are good and others bad, but they are all international, or, more strictly speaking, multi-national. If he had called his book "Towards Inter-State Government" his theme would have been made clear beyond all confusion; but he would have been convicted of working for a contradiction, for there is no such thing as inter-State government. If a government cannot give orders and secure obedience to them, it is not a government: but the essence of a State is that it is sovereign and takes orders from no one above it. Inter-State government therefore involves a contradiction. What Mr. Hobson really desires is a World-Government, and I wish he had said so. Probably he did not do so because he thought the title sounded too chimerical. But in reality there is nothing inconceivable or intrinsically impossible in the establishment of a world-government. The real difficulty is to establish free world-government—to ensure universal peace without the universal sacrifice of liberty. If it is better organisation that civilized mankind desires they can have it in almost any age for the asking. The Romans were ready to give it them; so were the great Popes; so was Napoleon; so are the Germans. There is no technical objection that I can see to the practicability of schemes like Mr. Hobson's. They involve the surrender of British, French, American and other sovereignties into the hands of a body in which the nominees of Russian, German, Hungarian and Turkish autocracy would have a proportionate voice. If the citizens of free States wish to surrender their heritage of freedom and to merge their allegiance with that of subjects accustomed to arbitrary rule, there is no more to be said. Peace and order and prosperity they may for a time receive in exchange. These may be goods more valuable than liberty. Many persons think they are, especially for other people. Our existing industrial order, for instance, is based upon the idea that efficiency is more important than liberty. But few Englishmen would hesitate to include liberty as an indispensable element in that 'good life' which it is the sole object of politics to promote. Judged by that ultimate test and in the light of the political ideals and constitutions of the existing States of the world, Mr. Hobson's and all other similar schemes fall to the ground.

So far we have been engaged in cross-examining the word international, and it has helped to bring out certain important distinctions. I now propose to put into the dock a more serious

offender, whom I think it will be useful to examine on our way to positive conclusions. I propose to take the third of the four points put forward as the programme of the Union of Democratic Control. It is not very different on the constructive side from suggestions by other writers who hold widely different views on the war. I select it because it crystallizes a mass of current thought in a conveniently compact and definite form. The 'plank' in question is as follows:—

"The foreign policy of Great Britain shall not be aimed at creating Alliances for the purpose of maintaining the 'Balance of Power'; but shall be directed to concerted action between the Powers and the setting up of an International Council whose deliberations and decisions shall be public, with such machinery for securing international agreement as shall be the guarantee of an abiding peace."

This sentence contains a negative half and a positive half. I will not dwell on the negative half, as it is not relevant to our subject, except to say that it does not seem to be quite fair in its implied statement as to the object of British foreign policy in the past. I pass, therefore, to the second or constructive part of the programme, in which the Foreign Office, and the British democracy whose servant it is, is advised as to what it ought to do. The formula then runs as follows:—

"The foreign policy of Great Britain shall be directed to concerted action between the Powers and the setting up of an International Council whose deliberations and decisions shall be made public, with such machinery for securing international agreement as shall be the 'guarantee of an abiding peace.'"

There is nothing much to be said about the proposal for concerted action between the Powers. There is nothing new about it. The Great Powers of Europe have constantly throughout the last hundred years acted together in matters of common concern, especially in Near Eastern questions, and no State has a better record for loyalty and persistence in this direction than Great Britain. But the Concert has never created any organisation for itself beyond temporary conferences and congresses of ambassadors and plenipotentiaries, and it has never shown itself amenable to democratic control. The important part of the suggestion lies in the proposed International Council.

If this suggestion is intended to be practicable it presumably means an *inter-State* Council—that is to say, a council composed of nominees from all the States or all the leading States of the world. A real *International* Council, in which Poles sat next to Russians and Armenians next to Turks can hardly have been intended. Presumably also the council is to consist of persons nominated by their governments or according to arrangements made

by each separate government, and not directly or on a uniform plan by the citizens of the States concerned. It will be a conference of governments with governments, or of superior persons with superior persons, like the British Imperial Conference which meets every four years. Again, there is nothing particularly novel in the suggestion. The two Hague Conferences have been gatherings of this nature, and their deliberations, like those of our Imperial Conference, have been made public. If our foreign policy is to be directed to getting together a deliberate body consisting of representatives from the leading States of the world, that aim can be quickly attained.

But the real crux of the formula lies in the word 'decisions.' In what sense is this council going to *decide* things? Are they going merely to make up their own minds and embody the results in a series of resolutions? Or are they going to legislate? In other words, are they going to be an assembly of envoys or an assembly of representatives, in other words a Parliament? If the former, I welcome the suggestion. The more discussion and interchange and sifting of views we can have between public men in different States the better. But I see in such a suggestion no 'guarantee of an abiding peace.' The reason why many well-meaning people grow enthusiastic over the idea of such a council is that they look to it as the machinery which will prevent conflicts between States. A body of this character may help to make war less likely; or, by revealing a deep gulf of principle between two sets of members, it may (like the second Hague Congress) make it more likely; but it cannot make war impossible. So far as machinery is concerned, it could only do so if it had an executive responsible to it and obliged to obey its orders; and if it had armed forces to carry out those orders, backed up by a federal treasury and a federal system of taxation; if it could quench a smouldering war in Germany or the Balkans as the Home Secretary can quench a riot at Tonypandy. In other words, an International Council can only be effective as an *organ of government* if it is part of a World-Government acting according to a regular written constitution: and such a constitution could only be set going after it had been adopted by a convention representative of all the peoples or governments concerned. Before the suggested council could have authority to *decide* things, in the sense in which the formula suggests, Frenchmen, Germans, Turks, Russians and citizens of other existing States must have declared their willingness to merge their statehood in a larger whole and to hand over their armed forces, or the greater part of them, to the new central government. This may be what the formula means. It may be intended to allow a government of Germans, Magyars, Russians, Turks or any other chance majority to use the British and French navies to carry out



its purposes. If this is meant it should be said. If it is not meant it should be explained that the council proposed is not an organ of government but an organ of influence or advice, and it should be made quite clear, to forestall inevitable disillusionments, that, to quote Washington again, "Influence is not government." Such a body might be of very great service to mankind, both as a clearing-house of ideas and as a means for embodying agreed solutions into a practical shape. It might become at once a drafting body and an organ for giving expression to the growing unity of civilized public opinion. If it met regularly, and the world became accustomed to look to it for guidance, it might achieve more in both these directions than has been attained along this road hitherto. But it will not be a government. In matters of law and government there is no room for middle paths or soothing formulæ. Two States are either Sovereign or they are United or Federated: they cannot be half and half. A man must know of what State he is a citizen and to what authority his duty is due. We all have our duty to render to Caesar: but we cannot serve two Cæsars at once. Not all the Parliamentary ingenuity in the world can overcome that dilemma, as Virginians found out to their cost when the inexorable question was put to them at the outbreak of the Civil War. To ask British electors to surrender their power of determining the policy of this country to a body over which they have no control is to plunge into a jungle of difficulties and incidentally to set back, perhaps for ever, the cause of free and responsible government for which the Western Powers are trustees.

The practical programme of the Union of Democratic Control and of other advocates of similar solutions thus turns out to be something of an illusion. What is practical of the suggested machinery is not new, though it is susceptible of fuller and more systematic use than in the past: and what is new is neither practical nor wholesome—or, at least, would not be regarded as such by most Englishmen if its real meaning were made clear. War cannot be abolished by inventing foolproof political machinery, for no political machinery can impose ultimate irreconcilable differences of political principle. Political intercourse, like trade relations, may strengthen existing ties and deepen the attachment to common ideals, but it cannot create agreement where a common basis of agreement is not forthcoming. It is well for us to face the fact that there is no short cut to universal peace. War will only become obsolete after far-reaching changes have taken place in the mind and heart of the civilized peoples: and the first and perhaps most important step in that direction is that the civilized peoples should feel called upon to exercise a responsible control over their own governments and armed forces. It is useless to dream of



making Europe a federated Commonwealth till the separate units of the potential Federation are themselves Commonwealths. Interpreted as a call to the fuller exercise of responsible citizenship, every believer in free government will respond to the watchword of Democratic Control.

Let us say farewell then, once and for all, to this idea of an 'International Council' as providing machinery which shall be an absolute guarantee against war. But before passing on it is worth while spending a parting shot on a phrase with which it is often associated, because it illustrates a typical confusion of thought—I mean the phrase—the United States of Europe. The constant use of this phrase shows how easily such confusions gain vogue. One can see how it originated. America is a Continent. Europe is a Continent. America has its United States. Why should not the States of Europe unite and so put an end to European wars. It is not an unnatural train of reasoning for a Western American who knows nothing of Europe or of the causes which tend to produce wars. It escapes his notice that he is using the word 'State' in two different senses. State in the word United States means province. The separate States are provinces, or component members of a Federation. The word State was put into the American Constitution as a deliberate misnomer, in order to gratify the thirteen original Sovereign States when they abandoned their sovereignty in entering into the Federation. Similarly the Orange Free State retains its old name in the South African Union. The survival of the word cost the American Commonwealth dear, for the word enshrined, and rightly enshrined, a conception of citizenship and indefeasible loyalty: and it cost the Americans four years of war and a million lives before the confusion inherent in the word 'United States' was cleared up and men knew for certain whether the American Commonwealth was one State or several. That is the price men pay for halting confusedly between two opinions and trying to serve two Cæsars at once. They not only failed to avert war, but actually promoted it.

I pass now to deal with an objection which must have been in some people's minds when I drew the distinction between Statehood and Nationality. It is quite true, they will say, that Statehood and Nationality are in fact, in the present condition of the world, distinguishable and often distinct—that Finland is a nation but part of the Russian State, and so on—but this is an unsatisfactory condition of things which it should be our hope to abolish. States and nations ought, they will say, to be coterminous. All States, or at any rate most States, ought to be Nation-States: at the very least, all self-governing States ought to be Nation-States. And they will invoke the authority of John Stuart Mill, whose words on the subject in his book on "Representative Government," have

passed almost unchallenged for two generations as the pure milk of Liberal doctrine. "It is," says Mill, "in general a necessary condition of free institutions that the boundaries of governments should coincide in the main with those of nationalities."

This theory that the Nation-State is the normal and proper area of government at which believers in free institutions should aim, is sometimes known as 'the principle of Nationality': and many loose-thinking people believe that it is one of the causes for which we are fighting in the present war. My own view is exactly the contrary. I believe it is one of the most formidable and sinister forces on the side of our enemies and one of the chief obstacles to human progress at the present time.

Let us look into it more closely. What exactly does this belief in the coincidence of Nationality and Statehood mean? What is the principle underlying the theory of the National State, or of political nationalism, as it is sometimes called? The theory says that because the Poles feel themselves to be a nation, there ought to be an independent Poland. In other words, the independent Polish kingdom will rest upon the fact that its citizens are Poles. The Polish kingdom will be a kingdom of Poles. Polishness would be its distinguishing mark: the criterion of its citizenship. Districts of the territory or sections of the population which were not Polish, or had ceased to be Polish, would therefore cease to be 'national': and by ceasing to be national would lose their right to membership in the State. In other words, the State is not based on any universal principle, such as justice, or democracy, or collective consent, or on anything moral or universally human at all, but on something partial, arbitrary and accidental. "By making the State and the nation commensurate with each other in theory, this principle reduces practically to a subject condition all other nationalities that may be within the State's boundary. It cannot admit them to an equality with the ruling nation which constitutes the State, because the State would then cease to be national, which would be a contradiction of the principle of its existence. According, therefore, to the degree of humanity and civilization in that dominant body which claims all the rights of the community, the inferior races are exterminated, or reduced to servitude, or outlawed, or put in a condition of dependence."

These last three sentences are not my own. They were not written to point the moral of the exterminations promoted by Turkish nationalism in Armenia, or of the various degrees of servitude, oppression and propaganda enforced by German, Magyar, Russian and other dominant forms of political nationalism? They were written by Lord Acton fifty years ago, when the Nationalist doctrines which overshadow Eastern Europe and Western Asia to-day were a cloud no bigger than a man's hand.

In his essay on "Nationality," published in 1862,<sup>1</sup> Acton remorselessly analysed its political claims and predicted, with the insight of moral genius, the disastrous consequences of basing government on so arbitrary and insecure a foundation. "The theory of Nationality," he said, using the strongest language at his command, "is more absurd and more criminal than the theory of Socialism." Time softens the edge of strong language, but in this case without blunting the force of the prediction. "Its course," he says, "will be marked with material as well as moral ruin, in order that a new invention may prevail over the works of God and the interests of mankind. There is no principle of change, no phase of political speculation conceivable, more comprehensive, more subversive, or more arbitrary than this. It is a confutation of democracy, because it sets limits to the exercise of the popular will, and substitutes for it a higher principle. . . . Thus, after surrendering the individual to the collective will, the revolutionary system (Acton has been speaking of the theory of Nationality as a phase of revolutionary doctrine) makes the collective will subject to conditions which are independent of it, only to be controlled by an accident."

Lord Acton's words were not listened to, for more fashionable doctrines held the field. In England both Liberalism and Conservatism had their own special reasons for espousing the cause of political Nationalism. To the Liberals it seemed to spell liberty, and to the Conservatives it seemed to embody the force of instinct or tradition, as against doctrines which based government on more universal considerations of Reason and Humanity. But Acton, with his eye ranging over the whole course of human history, cared more for liberty than for any of the temporary formulæ in which it was sought to dress her up. He foresaw that to base government on anything less than a quality common to all the governed, in virtue of their common humanity, was for the State to surrender its moral pretensions and its rôle as a factor in the moral progress of the world. Time has borne him out: and what was in its inception little more than a pardonable aberration, a natural result of strong feeling combined with loose thinking, has become in more than one contemporary State the mainspring of a Realpolitik which avowedly bases policy upon considerations of national selfishness and seeks to propagate a dominant nationalism through the power of the government with which it is so unhappily associated.

Am I out of sympathy then, I shall be asked, with political nationalist movements? Do I look coldly on the record of Mazzini and Garibaldi, or regret the Union of Italy? Far from it. But I wish to make perfectly clear—what was too easily obscured by the

1. Republished in "The History of Freedom and other Essays," 1909.

circumstances of the time—that the reason why the people of Sicily, Venetia and other parts of Italy became incorporated with Piedmont in one Italian State was not because they were Italian, but because they deliberately desired thus to dispose of their destiny. Italian national sentiment might, and in fact did, contribute to promote that desire: but it was not the principle underlying the union of Italy. If it had been, there would have been many islands or enclaves in the new Italian kingdom. The sentiment of Nationality may, and often does, contribute to what is called irredentism, but it is not a justifiable basis of the irredentists' claim to a change of government. One can see that at a glance by considering what would happen if the sentiment of Nationality were admitted as a sole and sufficient claim for a change of government. French Canada would have to pass to France, Wisconsin to Germany, and part of Minnesota to Norway, while the New York police would become the servants of the new Home Rule government in Ireland. I have taken progressively impossible instances in order to show how easily the theory which makes national feeling the criterion of Statehood can be reduced to an absurdity. But the fact that the theory is absurd does not prevent its being put into practice, and instances as absurd as those just drawn from the New World can be drawn in actual fact from the Old. To what State ought Macedonia to belong? It depends, according to the political nationalist's theory, on the nationality of the people of Macedonia. Magicians are brought upon the scene, in the shape of ethnologists and historians, to determine the question of nationality, and the unfortunate people, instead of being asked what they do desire, are told what they ought to desire, and schools are founded to enforce the lesson. Some friends of mine stayed some years ago in a village which changed its nationality more than once in a season under the persuasion of the bayonets of rival bands of wandering propagandists. Nationality has in fact become a matter of propaganda, like religion, and the wars that it leads to partake of the aimless and blundering brutality of religious wars, in which men try to save other men's souls by offering them the alternatives of conversion or the stake.

It is not the principle of nationality, as so many English people think, which will bring peace and good government to Macedonia and Eastern Europe generally, but the principle of toleration. It took Western Europe several generations after the Thirty Years War to discover that religion, being subjective, was no satisfactory criterion of Statehood and that a wise ruler must allow his subjects to go to Heaven by their own road. It may take Eastern Europe as long to reach the same conclusion about Nationality. But in the long run the theory of a National State will go the way of Henry VIII's and Luther's theory of a National Church.

In reality, of course, English people when they invoke the principle of Nationality mean the principle of Democracy—the principle that a people, however constituted, whether homogeneous like the Italians, or closely related like the Southern Slavs, or not homogeneous at all, like the Belgians and the Swiss, has a right to dispose of its own destiny. If we mean Democracy, let us boldly say so. It is no cause to be ashamed of.

Having thus cleared the ground, I will proceed to indicate my own view of Nationality and Statehood. I must be very brief; but, if I give little more than definitions, I hope my criticism of other views will have enabled the definitions to explain themselves.

It is clear that there is a fundamental difference between the two conceptions. Nationality, like religion, is subjective; Statehood is objective. Nationality is psychological; Statehood is political. Nationality is a condition of mind; Statehood is a condition in law. Nationality is a spiritual possession; Statehood is an enforceable obligation. Nationality is a way of feeling, thinking and living; Statehood is a condition inseparable from all civilized ways of living.

What is subjective cannot be defined in strict scientific terms: it can only be interpreted; and the interpretation will only have a meaning for those who can appreciate the peculiar quality of the object interpreted. It is impossible to define the quality of a Beethoven symphony so as to make it intelligible to non-musicians. Similarly it is impossible to define the quality which makes Shakespeare's work characteristically English, or to explain to a German ignorant of England what exactly it is which has evaporated in Schlegel's translation. Jews and Gentiles both rock equally with laughter at "Potash and Perlmutter"; but the Jews know that they are laughing at the real Jewish humour of the play, while the Gentiles are only laughing at the jokes. Internationalism, in its finest and truest sense, involves an insight into the inner spiritual life of many nationalities and a sensitive palate to many various forms of national quality. A man who has no understanding of Jewish humour may have the highest liberal principles and the best and most enlightened intentions; but he will have an incomplete understanding of Jewish nationality.

How then shall we define Nationality? Nationality, I would suggest, is a form of corporate sentiment. I would define a nation as *a body of people united by a corporate sentiment of peculiar intensity, intimacy and dignity, related to a definite home-country*. Every nation has a home, though some nations, such as the Jews, the Irish, the Norwegians and the Poles, live for the greater part in exile. If the Jews ceased to feel a peculiar affection for Palestine or the Irish for Ireland they would both cease to be nations, as the gipsies have ceased to be a nation; and when an individual Jew



ceases to feel affection for Palestine or an individual Irishman ceases to feel affection for Ireland, he ceases to be a Jew or an Irishman.<sup>1</sup> Once an American citizen, a man is always an American citizen until either the State is destroyed or his status is altered by process of law; but Nationality, being subjective, is often mutable and intermittent. History is full of the deaths and resurrections of nations, and amid the commercialism and cosmopolitanism of to-day many diverse forms of national consciousness are struggling to maintain their hold on the minds and spirits of the scattered races of mankind. Only those who have seen at close quarters what a moral degradation the loss of nationality involves, or sampled the drab cosmopolitanism of Levantine seaports or American industrial centres, can realise what a vast reservoir of spiritual power is lying ready, in the form of national feeling, to the hands of teachers and statesmen, if only they can learn to direct it to wise and liberal ends. To seek to ignore this force or to humiliate it or to stamp it out in the name of progress or western ideas is unwittingly to reproduce Prussian methods and to promote, not progress or enlightenment, but spiritual impoverishment and moral weakness. Driven from the throne and the altar, national sentiment is at last finding its proper resting place in the mission school and the settlement and in the homes of the common people. In the world as it is to-day, as educated India is discovering, consciousness of nationality is essential to individual self-respect, as self-respect is essential to right living.

Nationality, in fact, rightly regarded, is not a political but an educational conception. It is a safeguard of self-respect against the insidious onslaughts of a materialistic cosmopolitanism. It is the sling in the hands of weak undeveloped peoples against the Goliath of material progress. The political Prussianism of a

1. It may be argued that such men still remained members of their race even though they no longer acknowledged their nationality. This is true. Race is an objective test, and no man can change his race any more than a leopard can change his spots. But this is not the same as to admit that there is such a thing as a Jewish or an Irish race. Race is an ethnological and anthropological term and much confusion would be avoided if it were kept severely out of political discussions. The current scientific classifications of race (*homo Alpinus*, *homo Mediterraneus*, etc.) have no bearing on questions of national or political consciousness, except to make it clear that political theories (like that of Houston Stewart Chamberlain) which base themselves on race differences are unscientific and worthless. The world is, of course, full of the descendants of 'assimilated' Jews and Irishmen; but it is equally full of 'assimilated' Assyrians, Hittites, Goths, Picts, Angles, and other forgotten nationalities. To lay stress on facts such as these is no more helpful than to recall that we are all children of Adam.



militarist government is far less dangerous to the spiritual welfare of its subjects in the long run than the ruthless and pervading pressure of commercial and cosmopolitan standards. What is imposed on them by overt tyranny men resist, and win self-respect by resisting; but the corruption that creeps in as an 'improvement' men imitate and succumb to. The vice of nationalism is Jingoism, and there are always good Liberals amongst us ready to point a warning finger against its manifestations. The vice of internationalism is decadence and the complete eclipse of personality, ending in a type of character and social life which good Conservatives instinctively detest, but have seldom sufficient patience to describe. Fortunately we possess in Sir Mark Sykes a political writer who has the gift of clothing his aversions in picturesque descriptive writing, and in his books on the Near East English readers can find some of the best examples (which might be paralleled from other Continents, not least from America) of the spiritual degradation which befalls men who have pursued 'Progress' and cosmopolitanism and lost contact with their own national spiritual heritage. Here is his account of one such mis-educated mind, encountered in Kurdistan: "He said he was studying to be an ethnologist, psychologist, hypnotist and poet: he admired Renan, Kant, Herbert Spencer, Gladstone, Spurgeon, Nietzsche and Shakespeare. It afterwards appeared that his library consisted of an advertisement of Eno's Fruit Salt, from which he quoted freely. He wept over what he called the 'punishment of our great nation' and desired to be informed how, in existing circumstances, he could elevate himself to greatness and power."<sup>1</sup> Most of us, who have been teachers, have known the *genus* 'prig' in our time and have discovered how to handle him; but it is not so easy to discover how to handle a whole society of prigs from which the health-giving winds of nationality and tradition have been withdrawn. No task is more urgent among the backward and weaker peoples than the wise fostering of nationality and the maintenance of national traditions and corporate life as a school of character and self-respect.

But to return to the definition. National sentiment is *intense*: it makes a great deal of difference to a man whether or not he is a Scot or a Jew or a Pole. It is not a thing which he could deny or betray without a feeling of shame. It is *intimate*: it goes very deep down to the roots of a man's being: it is linked up with his past: it embodies the momentum of an ancient tradition. The older a nation is and the more it has achieved and suffered, the more national it is. Nationality means more to a Jew and an Armenian (probably the two oldest surviving forms of national consciousness) than to a Canadian; and, to quote a famous phrase, "it means more to be a Canadian to-day" than it did before the

1. "The Caliph's Last Heritage," 1913. . 429.

second Battle of Ypres. Thirdly, it is *dignified*. The corporate sentiment of a nation is of a more dignified order than the corporate sentiment of a village. It is as hard to say at what stage of size or dignity nationality begins as to say how many grains are needed to form a heap. One could go through the islands of the world, from a coral-reef to Australia, and find it impossible to say at what point one reached an island large enough for the common sentiment of its inhabitants to be described as national. Broadly speaking, one can only say that if a people feels itself to be a nation, it is a nation.

Let us follow out what follows from this definition. If a group of people have a corporate sentiment, they will seek to embody it in a common or similar mode of life. They will have their own national institutions. Englishmen will make toast and play open air games and smoke short pipes and speak English wherever they go. Similarly Greeks will speak Greek and eat olives (if they can get them) and make a living by their wits. There is nothing in all this to prevent Englishmen and Greeks from being good citizens under any government to whose territory they migrate. The difficulty only arises when governments are foolish or intolerant enough to prohibit toast or olives or football or national schools and societies, or to close the avenues of professional life and social progress to new classes of citizens. Arbitrary government, by repressing the spontaneous manifestations of nationality, lures it into political channels: for it is only through political activity that oppressed nationalities can gain the right to pursue their distinctive ways of life. Between free government and nationality there is no need, and indeed hardly a possibility, of conflict. This is clear from the fact that, whereas in reactionary States, the social manifestations of nationality invariably tend to become political, so that literary societies and gymnastic clubs are suspect to the police and constantly liable to dissolution, in Great Britain and America manifestations of nationality tend to become more and more non-political and social in character. Languages banned and prohibited in Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia as dangerous to the State are freely spoken in the United States: and, though there are more Poles in Chicago than in Warsaw, and more Norwegians in the North Western States than in Norway, nobody apprehends any danger therefrom to the unity and security of the American Commonwealth. The American Commonwealth may, and indeed must, change its distinctive character and quality with the lapse of time and the change in the composition of its population; it may even become multi-lingual. But its governmental institutions will remain untroubled, so long as it remains a free democracy, by political nationalistic movements. America will have to wait long for its Kossuths and Garibaldis.

Much more could be said about Nationality; but it is time to pass to Statehood.

What is a State? A State can be defined, in legal language, as a territory or territories over which there is a government claiming unlimited authority. This definition says nothing about the vexed question of the relation between the State and the individual, and the rights of conscientious objectors. It only makes clear the indisputable fact that, whatever the response of individuals, the claim to exercise unlimited authority is inherent in Statehood. It is involved in State sovereignty. The State, as Aristotle said long ago, is a sovereign association, embracing and superseding, for the purposes of human life in society, all other associations. The justification of the State's claim to peculiar authority is that experience shows it is mankind's only safeguard against anarchy and that anarchy involves the eclipse of freedom. Haiti and Mexico to-day are the best commentaries on that well-thumbed text, of which priests and barons in earlier ages, like Quakers and plutocrats and syndicalists in our own, have needed and still need to be reminded. Freedom and the good life cannot exist without government. They can only come into existence *through* government.

But Statehood in itself does not carry us beyond ancient Egypt and Assyria, or beyond Petrograd and Potsdam. Such States have subjects, and these subjects have obligations, both legal and moral: but they are not, strictly speaking, citizens. Citizenship is the obligation incumbent on members of Commonwealths or free States.

What is a free State? Here again one can give no exact definition; for freedom, like nationality, is not something tangible, like a ballot-box, but a state of mind in individual men and women. A free State is a State so governed as to promote freedom. What is freedom? Perhaps the best brief definition of freedom is that lately given by that bold psychologist, our chairman, when he spoke of that continuous possibility of initiative which we vaguely mean by 'freedom.'<sup>1</sup> A man is not free unless he feels free, and in order to feel free he must feel that there is a full range of thought and at least some range of action left open for the determination of his own will. How strong that desire for personal freedom, that sense of the importance of the possibility of initiative, is among Englishmen we have lately seen by their marked preference for being 'asked' to enlist as against being 'ordered' to enlist. For Englishmen, in fact, and for all men who set store by human values, the sense of personal freedom is an important factor in promoting happiness or a sense of well-being. Freedom may be

1. Article on "The New Statesman," Sept. 25, 1915.

hard to define in set terms: but the man who can be perfectly happy without it enjoys the passive contentment of an animal rather than the positive well-being proper to a man. The neglect of this obvious truth in the working of our industrial government is the simplest and most potent element in the inarticulate labour unrest which has so much hampered British trade and industry of recent years. Harmony can only be restored by frankly basing our industrial life, as our political life is already based, on the principle of responsible self-government.

Freedom and self-government, as this illustration shows, are closely associated: but it is important to recognize that they are not identical. Haiti is more self-governing than its neighbour Jamaica or Nigeria, but Jamaica and Nigeria are the freer countries. If British rule and its accompanying expert knowledge were withdrawn from Nigeria and the country were in consequence ravaged by sleeping sickness, the individual Nigerian would obviously not thereby have increased his freedom of initiative or his personal well-being. At certain stages of knowledge and education free government and responsible self-government are incompatible; but it is the root principle of democracy that the right, or rather the moral duty, of self-government is an essential element in full personal freedom. No State can be described as free unless it is either self-governing or so organised as to promote self-government in the future.

If the exercise of self-government is a duty and a privilege without which man cannot grow to his full moral stature or enjoy the full sense of freedom and self-respect, it follows that the object to which it is directed is a moral object. Citizenship is more than a mere matter of political gymnastics, designed to train the moral faculties of the individual: it is civilized man's appointed means for the service of mankind. It is through the State, and by means of civic service, that man in the modern world can best do his duty to his neighbour. An ordinary old-fashioned State may be no more than a Sovereign Authority, but a free State or Commonwealth is and must be invested with what may best be described as a moral personality. It could not claim the free service of its citizens unless it stood for moral ends. In so far as it ceases to stand for moral ends, its citizens cease to be moral agents, and, as we have seen in the case of Germany, this inevitable atrophy of moral action in its citizens means a corresponding decline in their moral freedom. Their sense of civic obligation comes into conflict with their sense of what is right and just, and the conflict ends in a degradation of personal self-respect and in the open acceptance of a two-fold standard of morality for States and for private individuals, resulting in the approbation of what is known as

Realpolitik. If the unashamed Italian ministerial phrase, "Sacro egoismo nazionale" (sacred national egoism), which could be paralleled nearer home, really characterized the guiding motive of the Italian State, as it does that of some others, then the people of Italy would not only be less moral but also less free and self-respecting to-day than they were when they responded to the very different watchwords of Mazzini.

To maintain and to live up to this high conception of citizenship is no easy task. A great political tradition embodies the work of generations of effort and service. Those who lightly ask us to transcend it and become citizens of Europe or of a World-State have often not made clear to themselves what civic obligation involves; or how necessary it is that, before we ask Europe to accept us as citizens, we must have been faithful in small things, so as to bring her a gift of service worthy of her acceptance. Membership of a free State, such as the British Commonwealth, means more than mere obedience to its laws or a mere emotion of pride and patriotism, more even than an intelligent exercise of political duties: it involves a personal dedication to great tasks and great ideals: it links a man to great causes striven for in the past and sets him a standard and a tradition to work for in the future. The functions of government may conceivably be divided; but dedication, like marriage, must of its nature be undivided. It can only be relinquished when it can be merged in all solemnity and in the fulness of time in a great free federation where the same causes and ideals can be brought to larger and happier fulfilment.

There is no time, at the end of this long paper, to work out a philosophy of government in detail, but this at least may be said to make clear my attitude to the inter-State problem which in my earlier remarks I have laid bare rather than attempted to solve. That problem is incapable of solution till men have come to regard States as moral personalities with duties as well as rights: till all the leading States, through the public opinion of their free citizens, have come to regard their duty to humanity as prior to the safeguarding of their selfish purposes: and until there is a far closer agreement among the civilized peoples than seems possible to-day as to the principles which should underlie the ultimate organisation of the world on the basis of morality and justice. Government exists to promote the conditions of a good life: and the anarchy and wickedness of the present conflict are a revelation at once of the absence and of the need of a world-government which shall promote those conditions for all mankind. But, until mankind are agreed as to those conditions, until they know what kind of a world they desire to live in, and have achieved freedom of action to give effect to their wishes, it is idle to look to statesmen to give us more than

a temporary and precarious peace. Peace is not the birthright of the sons of men: it is the prize of right living. Let us first be clear in our minds and hearts as to what is the cause for which we stand and where our service is due, and let us be faithful in performing it: then haply, at the latter end, when the reign of Justice and Liberty has been assured, Peace too may be added unto us.

A. E. ZIMMERN.





## THE ATLANTIC NATIONS AND CONTINENTALISM.<sup>1</sup>

### I.

THE carrying power of water is clearly connected with the origin of civilization. The sluggish streams of Egypt and Mesopotamia, and the great rivers of China, did something more than irrigate the lands they flowed through. They were natural highways which fostered commerce and the localization of industries, and which ultimately became the parents of written laws. There is a pregnant contrast between the beneficent, humane and law-regulated civilization of Babylon about 2000 B.C., located as it was on the lower waters of the Tigris and Euphrates, and the martial, aggressive and predatory offspring of that civilization, Assyria, situated amongst the unnavigable mountain streams.

The early civilization of Crete was born, like Aphrodite, from the sea. Homer represents Zeus himself as supporting the Greeks of 'the high-prowed ships,' while Athene (who most significantly overwhelms Ares in single combat) is the inspirer of the seafaring Odysseus. Later it was Athens, the sea-power, that attained unsurpassed heights of intellectual and artistic genius; while the inland Sparta, who trampled her down, is remembered for little besides her military virtues and organization. Carthage is seen by us only through Roman eyes. But it may well be that the world has seen no greater disaster than the annihilation of this maritime power. For, though we are ourselves committed to the Roman civilization that actually prevailed, it does not follow that it was the best.

But the struggle between Behemoth and Leviathan did not end with the triumph of Rome. The sea ever remains, and gives birth, age after age, to a culture essentially contrasted with the military and continental type. Had the Hanse towns of the Middle Ages succeeded, as they came near doing, in dominating the nations of Northern Europe, it is conceivable that the Thirty Years' War might have had other issue, and, with the complete defeat of the Hapsburgs, the opportunity might have opened for a commercial and federal type of state to prevail over Central Europe.

However that may be, it can scarcely be an accident that our sea-girt and sea-faring nation, is the one great European power that

1. A paper read before the Social Psychological Group of the Sociological Society, November 11, 1915.

has never aped the titles and insignia of Imperial Rome. Our kings have never worn the iron crown, like Charlemagne or Napoleon; they have never called themselves Cæsars or Czars, like the Hapsburgs, the Hohenzollerns and the Romanoffs; they have never adopted the Legionary Eagle as their national emblem, like Austria, Germany, Russia, Napoleonic France, and even republican America. Nor have we, as a nation, gone out of set purpose to build ourselves an empire, since the time when our French-speaking kings contended for dominion in France; rather, we may say that, "in a fit of absence of mind," our enterprising commerce has created those scattered allegiances to the British Crown, which, we find with some surprise, now figure as an "empire over-seas." But, whether we consider it historically or psychologically, it is an empire in a different sense, and of a different type, from any former empire; and it is worth while to rehearse certain characteristic features, which justify us in regarding it as comparable to an organism, rather than to an organization: a living growth, than a creation of military might.

(1) The allegiance of our English-speaking colonies is practically optional, and even their contribution to the defences of the Empire is entirely voluntary.

(2) The highest alien races, such as the French and the Dutch, are able, without ever becoming anglicized, to join with us, as enthusiastic members of our empire.

(3) Natives of various races far removed from our own are employed in the guardianship of their own states. Unlike other empires, ancient and modern, we do not habitually draft, say, Indian troops to guard our African possessions, taking Egyptians or Bantus to guard India. India is policed and garrisoned by Indians, superintended by a very small handful of English civilians and soldiers; and Egypt by Egyptians.

(4) The principle of "letting alone" has been widely followed, with three typical results:

- (a) We have native states, largely independent, bedded in our empire;
- (b) We have protectorates, such as Egypt, in which native princes retain their titles undisturbed, and in which even the suzerainty of the Turkish Empire was acknowledged until that power chose to fight us;
- (c) Though we have for a century enjoyed a paramount power on the sea, we have not laid hands on the colonies of weak but civilized states, like Holland, Denmark and Portugal, even when to do so might have saved us great expenditure of wealth and lives.

Of many of these characteristics we have no monopoly, but in their sum they are unique.

The accident of our position partly accounts for them, but they are also attributable to something in our psychology. As long ago as Alfred the Great we see the same principles at work in the way he drew together the different realms of the island. Having defeated the Dane he did not crush him, but established him in possession of a territory equal to his own. All the rest of the island gradually drew into his polity of its own will. Where he conquered he preserved and improved the local administration, and his wise policy was followed and carried to a final conclusion by his son, his daughter, and three grandsons after him. Even our island was thus first united in the spirit of confederacy rather than of empire, and it is this spirit which has gone forth to found our dominions over the world.

Our rule is therefore to be regarded as specifically different in spirit and origin from the empires of the Caesars, Napoleons, Hapsburgs or Hohenzollerns. And the purpose of the present paper is to show that it is the type of a certain civic culture, or stage of advance, which we shall find exemplified also in parts of the earth owing no fealty to our crown (though to a greater or less extent under our influence), and which is destined to play a still greater part in the future history of civilization.

The following observations and conclusions are the result of a recent journey to America and four European neutrals, and subsequently to France and Russia. This journey was undertaken by the writer with a definite purpose which need not be described here. It will be sufficient to say that it was a private political venture, subsequently approved by our own Foreign Office. By leading to interviews with the Foreign Ministers and with public men of the first rank it brought together a number of impressions of national sentiment of great interest, at all events to the writer, and their incidental character perhaps rather enhances their value. I saw, not what I went to see, but what I could not help seeing. I also found a certain value in the fact that my journey led me to make America and not England the starting-point for a tour in Europe. The tendency to contrast the countries visited with one another and with America, rather than only with one's own land, made one more sensitive to those subtle differences of psychology in European countries which are significant of the cultural trends in modern civilization. And the consequent theory of the present conflict as the clash of two opposite principles of political consolidation active everywhere in different degrees, was the result of a later attempt to explain many things that had at first led to perplexity or surprise. In a paper such as this I must necessarily select my observations to exemplify my theory, but it need hardly be said that the theory was, in the first place, an attempt to explain my observations.

## II.

After a wintry ten days on the grey Atlantic desert, to see the broken, rocky coast and picturesque hills of New York Harbour, and then the towering metropolis itself thrust out amongst them, is to be overwhelmed with a sense of exuberant achievement. The race that could resolutely settle that bleak and distant coast; could make itself at home and claim its independent maturity; and, in the course of years, could erect a city compared with which all other cities appear creeping, timid things—this surely is a race that bears enormous testimony to the power of the children of the sea. It is easy to deprecate mere size, but to think of the New York sky-scrapers as merely big is to lack imagination. As an engineering feat alone they are by no means contemptible, but they are also, like all unique achievements, interpretive of the land that begets them. Those twenty, forty, and fifty storied giants, crowned with bronze cornices or metal domes, and made brilliant at night by ten thousand lights and farflinging flares, are eloquent, not only of wealth and skill, but of the whole American psychology.

Here is a people filled with the sense that "all things are possible." When the slender tongue of Manhattan Island could no longer hold the business and financial centre of a metropolis whose heart-beats must reach across the Atlantic to Europe, and across the continent to the Pacific, the Americans, as they could not build to east or west or south, built upwards, ten stories, twenty stories, fifty stories, until in the centre of the busiest city on earth there are thousands of offices high up amongst the clouds and winds that blow straight from the sea and hills. And while the dust, the din, the stench and the flies are left far below, the city is reached in a period measured by seconds rather than minutes.

The factors which produced this result are of course many, but above all and embracing all is the fact that the Americans were free from the countless inhibitions which check the vigour of older peoples. Amongst these inhibitions is the dread of injury to one's neighbour, or, to be frank, the dread of being injured by one's more enterprising neighbour. The immediate effect of the erection of a sky-scraper is to darken the windows of all lower buildings within range, but this is a challenge to other buildings to rise too, and acts less detrimentally than might appear, even to the laggards. The shadow of an object is deepest at its foot, and the higher it rises the more the luminous quality of the atmosphere dissipates it, with the result that a building of fifty stories casts scarcely a denser shade than one of ten. The streets of New York city are not perceptibly darker than those of the city of London, and though some of the

lower stories are comparatively dark, the high upper stories of those same buildings are bathed in light. Moreover, the amount of window light per acre is of course vastly increased, so that, owing to a certain lack of social restraint, the Americans have achieved an immense social benefit.

The same principle is capable of a wide application. Trade unionism, for instance (including the corresponding institutions of lawyers, doctors, etc.), has as one of its objects the limitation of the supply of skilled labour and ultimately of output, and is of the same nature as the law of ancient lights. Our real problem in either case is not to keep down our neighbour, but to get up ourselves, and we must discover how to keep the good of unionism and such institutions, and yet apply them to their true purpose.

But with the strength of America, which is its intense individualism, go almost incredible defects. From the landing-stage one gets into a taxi and drives a mile or so to one's hotel, a mile liable to be well-nigh as rough and dangerous as the Atlantic itself. The abominable condition of the roads passes belief, and is such as only a nightly Zeppelin raid would make excusable. So incapable is this wonderful people of corporate action that, whereas there is no luxury or perfection of service which it cannot supply by private enterprise under the ground or up in the clouds, it is unable to keep those portions of the surface of mother earth which it entrusts to its public bodies in a condition which would do credit to the cities of Central Asia or Africa.

This characteristic, of daring flights of genius coupled with neglect of the most commonplace civic duties, is displayed in another way in the national politics. Take it for all in all, the United States Congress appears to be an even worse legislative body than those of Europe, and at times has certainly been more corrupt than most. But its shortcomings are in a fair way to be redeemed by that creation of the national genius, the American Presidency, an office which is the most popular and democratic institution in the world, and yet is the most powerful autocracy that a civilized people has begotten. In the hands of a man like Lincoln it becomes an engine of overwhelming power for good or ill, both for America and the whole world.

And this, too, is a realization of the possibilities of individualism. Every American boy grows up with the knowledge that no artificial or conventional barrier stands between him and the attainment of the highest office in the world. It fosters a type of character, individual, independent, emulous, and the fact that the United States has provided so remarkable a succession of men to fill the chair is in part due to the fact that the bent of the popular mind is turned towards the problem of qualifying for the position. But here again the pre-eminence of the single individual overshadows

the secondary offices of state, indeed of the state as a corporation at all, and there is, I imagine, comparatively little ambition among the most brilliant American youths to shine, in company with others, in the Cabinet or the highest branches of the services.

The American constitution, with its comparatively weak sense of corporate life, has produced an illogicality so amazing that it is little short of a miracle that it has survived. Some years ago, it will be remembered, America found herself very near war with Italy, arising out of the curious fact that the Central Government, which is the only power able to make treaties with foreign powers, is actually unable constitutionally to enforce their observance upon its component states. The United States are so individualistic, in short, that they are not a united state at all. A similar fact in a form only somewhat less startling exists with ourselves. The Imperial Parliament is responsible for the foreign policy of the empire. But it is well known to us that we are practically without power other than moral suasion wherewith to make our colonies conform.

It has been pointed out to me that this weakness of social organization in America does not involve a want of national coherence. The nexus is provided by the immense sociability of the individual. Every American, it is said, knows ten times as many of his fellow-citizens as we do, with the result that movements, opinions, and determinations are rapidly spread through the whole country. The corporate life is not therefore wanting, but has an individualist basis.

Nothing in my American visit puzzled me more at first than to find myself amongst a people of a sixth sense—at least that is the only way I know how to describe the American instinct for the financial aspect of things. Whatever kind of people I met—scholars, statesmen, philanthropists, journalists, theologians—it is scarcely too much to say that they never seemed quite sure that they understood my meaning until they had reduced my proposals, or ideas, to some form of financial statement or problem. In England one is inclined to feel injured if a university professor talks to one about the improvement of his estate when he ought to be describing the latest find in Crete, or the qualities of a new solar element. But just as every building must have a site, though the value of the erection does not depend upon the area, so every human endeavour is an edifice reared upon a basis of dollars, and the American realizes that to ignore this fact is to build castles in the air.

I have concluded that this characteristic is a further development of our insular psychology in one of its best features. Every Englishman conceives that he has not only a right, but an obligation, to hold his own views on political, medical, religious and military matters, as well as social, artistic and domestic ones.



Perhaps ultimately we have no more deep-seated difference with our German contemporaries than their readiness to leave high diplomatic, and therefore moral, questions unreservedly to their diplomatic and military authorities. We flatter ourselves that nothing would have led us to swallow unchallenged the military assertion that the invasion of Belgium was a necessary feature in their defence against Russia. However that may be, it is certain that our democracy has a fairly firm grasp of the great principle that experts and authorities exist to execute the will, that is, the moral and intellectual judgments, of the people, and in no case *vice versa*.

The American, then, extends this principle to finance. The management of the dollar is too vital a matter to be delegated to a class of people. Like the Nonconformist conscience, it is a responsibility which he dare not depute to another. So far as the individual is concerned, this point of view is worthy of all honour. But if it has as its counterpart the incredibly rotten finance of certain American public bodies, it is too dearly bought. One cannot believe that so keen and far-sighted a people will long endure this reproach.

Before leaving our consideration of America, it must be noted that, despite the many saliently individualistic qualities of her civilization, she fought one of the world's greatest wars to uphold the continental principle. If in many ways she holds her component states with a singularly weak leash, she resolved not to tolerate the presence on her borders of a rival power comparable to her own. Yet even this was from every point of view a war of liberty, and the great division of British sympathies in the matter was partly due to the claim of both sides that liberty was the principle for which they fought: the North for human and individual liberty; the South for local liberty, the liberty of every state to regulate its own action, and in the last resort to establish its own government.

As we sailed from New York on a dreary January afternoon, the great buildings were soon shrouded in mist, which hid all ill-assorted elements, and showed nothing but sombre towering masses. From a few miles distance these form themselves into two groups, the Woolworth building thrusting up like a great cathedral spire, and the rest, a little lower, grouping like a high-pitched nave. Long after dark I looked back from the ship's stern towards New York, and there clear above the horizon were the dim lights of the city sky-line, with one bright flare above them all.

What kind of splendour was I going to find in Europe: palaces, fortresses, churches, symbols of domination in this world, or of aspirations towards another too often founded in despair of this? And here in America, rising above the city squalor, are the business offices of men and women, constituting the nerve ganglia of a

commercial continent. At first, I confess, I was a little ashamed of being so much impressed by the overwhelming bigness of the New York sky-line, but one soon grows to be proud of it. These sky-scrapers are the brain-cells of a civilization bound together by a commerce-nexus that is, with all its shadier sides, essentially beneficent. Let them frankly glory in themselves as though here on Manhattan democratic civilization had at last dared to stand erect.

From New York I crossed direct to Bergen, in Norway, seeing nothing of my native islands but a few barren rocks in the Orkneys, and the tiny town of Kirkwall. What if that had been all there was? A Boston lady had given me a grievous shock before I left by soberly and earnestly expressing the sentiment that the poverty and degradation she had seen in English towns were so appalling that (having given birth to the United States) it were better that England were henceforth sunk in the sea. The sting of her sentence upon us was more than half removed by her naive belief that her own land was practically without poverty. But her words have, nevertheless, often haunted me. That it should be possible for an intelligent and cultivated visitor to our shores to think even for a moment that it would be a better and happier world if we were gone, like Sodom and Gomorrah, cannot but give one food for thought. Every nation judges itself by its aims, and its vision is prophetic; we judge one another by results, and our vision is photographic. Nor are these photographs usually recent. It takes years for the facts of a nation's life to come through into the common knowledge of other peoples. Abroad one finds an opportunity of seeing one's own country in the cold light of present or past performance, without the visionary gleam which blurs its darker features. And one finds opportunity to see other lands as living and growing things, instead of statistical aggregations, or as they appear depicted in humorous anecdote, and in the vision of some master who wrote ten, twenty, fifty years ago.

### III.

The journey across Norway and Sweden to Stockholm is in some ways further psychologically than the voyage from New York to Bergen. The Norwegians are another of those wayward and erratic sea-peoples whom the continentals find so hard to comprehend.

The beauty and wonder of that mid-winter day on which we crossed the Scandinavian backbone were eloquent of the people bred amongst them. The Norwegians are a race at once casual and strenuous, friendly but uncommunicative, untidy yet permeated with artistic feeling in everything they produce, from roads and bridges to knives and spoons. That slender thread of line they

have built, and on which we crept that day along the precipitous sides of ice-bound lakes and fiords, past snow-shrouded villages, up into fairy valleys of frosted birch-trees, is a characteristic feat of Norwegian resolution. The crisp air was filled with brilliant sunshine, while the torrents below us could be heard growling under their chains. Slowly we wound our way high up amidst the glaciers and fog-hung rocks, and deep through barren summits in ten-mile tunnels, until the short day began to fail. This railway, built patiently year after year by a poor and scattered folk to connect two little towns about the size of, say, Devonport and Newcastle, across a thinly-peopled and sometimes entirely desert region of 300 miles, is in its way, amid circumstances so different, a demonstration of will-power and genius that need not fear comparison with the city on Manhattan.

When one enters Sweden, with her lakes and forests, her hills and rivers, one seems to have reached a land equally far from the Atlantic and from dreams of high emprise. Her ideal is smoothness, efficiency, scholarship, scientific method, leisure, not to say pleasure, and peaceful advance. The Swedes have everything that makes a nation great except transcendent genius, which is just what the Norwegians possess in so rare a degree. From a poor and scattered people, whose numbers are considerably less than half the population of greater London, have come in our own day not only explorers like Nansen and Amundsen, but immortal artists like Ibsen and Grieg. The Norwegian, adventurous and original, has given the world a new sport, with his peculiar snow-shoe; while the methodic Swede has given it a scientifically perfected system of physical drill. Sweden also originated the unheroic, but none the less admirable, Gothenburg system, and has recently made a further advance in the art of regulating, without abandoning, her national vice of drinking. In Stockholm the streets have recently been made respectable at nights by a system which neither England, nor Holland, nor France could imitate. Every man is obliged to carry with him a doctor's certificate defining the exact quantity of pure alcohol he may imbibe per diem, under severe penalties for exceeding this limit, imposed both on the purchaser and the vendor. And—strangest of all—it works!

The Swedes are a hospitable, generous-souled people, and a typical Swedish view of the War is that it is the tragedy of the Peloponnesian war repeated in Europe; the most civilized races of the earth strangling one another, to become the prey of a lower culture menacing them from the East. They see the fate of Belgium not without pity and grief, but they look nearer home at Finland—the land they once held and Europeanised—and ask, "Is it more cruel to fell a nation at a single blow than slowly to crush out its life for ever?" Amongst the intellectuals the general

expectation was doubtless at first that the Central Powers would ultimately prove the stronger,—the implicit faith in Germany's military machine leading to the expression of the view that the raising of Kitchener's Army was a tragic sacrifice of millions of helpless amateurs. Indeed, they seemed to look upon it much as we should if we heard of a new navy manned by clerks and bricklayers setting out to fight the British Grand Fleet.

It must not, however, be supposed that the country is solidly pro-German. Far otherwise. The working classes are mainly for England and France. The King is at least neutral. Many of the intellectuals see clearly the exaggerated nature of the Russian fear, and ardently advocate a rapprochement with England. But there can be little doubt that the majority of Swedes accept the arming of nations as in the order of nature, and the view is not uncommon that the British are guilty of a grave responsibility in having so long neglected to fill their place in the military scheme of Europe.

In Holland, which I next visited, a very different attitude prevails. The tragedy of to-day for the Hollander is not *this* war, as it is for the Swede, but the possibility of *any* war, and the appalling economic waste of even peace armaments. To realise the heroic pacifism of this small people one must read the diplomatic correspondence in the early stages of this war, on the subject of shipping, between the Dutch Foreign Office and those of England and Germany. At that time it was as impossible for England to defend Holland against Germany, as for Germany to defend her and her colonies against England. Yet, standing at the mercy of either of these two colossi, she corresponded first with one and then with the other, in a spirit of proud, not to say defiant, rectitude. In the full consciousness that within a space of ten days either of us might have reduced her historic cities to dust-heaps, or drenched her fertile flats in blood, she addressed us, both alike, as though principles of equity and international law were the only powers guiding the acts of nations, and as though no such thing existed as the difference between small powers and great.

It is well understood, however, that such an attitude can only remain permanently possible with the victory of the Allies, and the great majority of the Dutch look for this event with silent longing scarcely less ardent than our own. They believe that the security of their national existence is at stake, and in no country is the national sentiment more deep and passionate. The colonial empire which they have inherited from past centuries, but have now no navy to defend, is to them both a world of romance in itself, and the living memory of a glorious past. Nothing is more unthinkable than the quiet absorption of Holland by one of her great neighbours. Any attempt to engulf her would be met by a quality of obstinate

and resourceful resistance calculated finally to baffle the greatest power. Not only every military but every industrial device would be resorted to and maintained.

The Dutch are conscious of being in no sense inferior to any of us except in mere brute force and size. In civil and religious liberty, in probity of public life, Holland stands by the side of England. But it would be truer to say that she conferred these upon us with the Revolution of 1688 than that she had learnt them from us. In the field of art even France cannot boast a longer period of fine painters; Rembrandt is unique and universal as Shakespeare and Beethoven are unique and universal. In science and criticism she rivals England and France in originality, Germany in laborious and painstaking research. Indeed, she combines the best culture of England, France, and Germany in a degree hardly credible. Her children learn to read and speak all three languages, and frequently study Latin and Greek too. It is little wonder that they pay for this in a certain loss of childish liberty and gaiety. And it is possible that the burden of foreign languages to be learnt has prevented their own literature from rising to the level of their painting. This would account for the fact that Holland to-day hardly takes the place in the conscious thought of Europe to which her moral and intellectual powers entitle her.

In Switzerland one finds oneself again in the continental zone, with its characteristic ideals and outlook: efficiency, obedience, smoothness, faith in the army and in military method—characteristics which prove to be consonant with a free, democratic, and federal state. A conversation I had with a shop-girl in Berne admirably summarizes the national sentiment as I found it.

The German Swiss, she told me, were principally, but not all, in favour of Germany; "except those who had been to England, and they, of course, were for England!" The French Swiss were all for France, but they (the German Swiss) had no fear of their being disloyal to Switzerland, and if they occasionally became more demonstrative than was felt prudent or acceptable to the German Swiss, they were not to be taken too seriously, "because we know that they are more excitable than we are." As for Belgium, Yes, everyone was sorry for Belgium, and everyone took it for granted that she would be restored and compensated after the war. "But it seems to us rather strange," she said, "that they were not more prepared. Of course, I suppose they were relying on England, but we know why the Germans did not march through our country—because we have five hundred thousand men always ready at six hours' notice to take the field. Everyone has his gun in his house, and knows where to go as soon as he is wanted." The moral of



which appears to be that mountains and a gun in your house are more solid realities than scraps of paper. One might search Holland wide and long for a corresponding judgment on the case of Belgium.

This typical conversation is the more interesting from the fact that no people is more earnestly humanitarian than the Swiss. Granted that the right of a nation to survive lies in virtue of its strong right arm, even so our common humanity transcends all national rights. The original Red Cross was born in Switzerland, and it was my privilege in Lausanne to see the immense "Prisoners' Information Bureau" whereby news of hundreds of thousands of prisoners is conveyed to their anxious families, and *vice versa*. It was humiliating to contrast this smooth-running organization with one extemporized since the war, in London—the offices of our Belgian Refugees Committee in Aldwych. Never have I seen so vast and complex a work performed with so much efficiency and so little circumstance as in those three cellar-rooms at Lausanne. Never have I seen one conducted with so much circumstance and so little efficiency as at Aldwych. After all, the continentals can often make our insular institutions look foolish in the extreme.

My particular purpose did not, unfortunately, call me to Italy at that time, but I cannot forbear to quote from the letter of a young Italian a sentiment particularly germane to my subject. Addressing his English father-in-law, he writes words to this effect:—"As I leave for the front I wish you to remember two things. In the first place, that I would ask no better fate than to die for my country, and for the recovery of the Trentino. And, in the second place, that you will talk none of that French sentimentality or English hypocrisy about dying in the cause of international morality." This frankly "Prussian" sentiment, of course, by no means completely represents the movement which brought Italy into the war on our side. But it seems to indicate that Italy is deeply influenced by the philosophy of the power she so long allied herself with, and it is not impossible that—nearly sea-girt though she is, she inherits something of the psychology of Rome, whose utmost land frontier traversed three continents, and whose military organization has left so strong an impress upon all the Latin countries.

No country is harder to characterize than France. Her psychology seems to many to have undergone a radical change since the declaration of war. Everywhere one hears surprise, amounting to something like awe, at the "silence of France." But France has always had two souls. On the one hand, she shares to the full the characteristics of the nations of the Atlantic sea-board.



Like the rest of us, she is adventurous, individualistic, democratic, and independent; more than any of us she is full of fiery audacity and originality. But she is also logical, rigid, exacting, bureaucratic and centralized—the most imperial, the most Roman, power of all.

A trivial and personal but typical little incident occurred as I crossed the French frontier into Switzerland. It was at the Customs examination, early one cold April morning. After the examination of our luggage we had to pass the more exacting examination of passports, and the officials were sharply on the lookout for Germans with false papers. When at last I reached the barrier I passed the first official to show my papers to one I saw was disengaged. I was called sharply back, a summons which of course I obeyed promptly but not apologetically. A fair French smile struggled with the official scowl as my examiner muttered in French, "You're an Englishman all right."

In certain ways the Englishman and Frenchman are so unlike one another, both institutionally and psychologically, that it seems to have been necessary for us to pass together through a life-and-death struggle in order to get to know and understand one another. Yet even this could not have brought it about but for the generosity of the spirit of France. "It is easier," says William Blake, "to forgive an enemy than to forgive a friend." Yet, from the highest officials downwards, there appeared to be a quiet unquestioning confidence in the good understanding between the two nations. Anyone who looks forward to a closer fellowship between the civilized peoples of the world cannot be too grateful for this fact. It might so easily have been otherwise. For my own part, I find it hard to say where the finer quality of chivalry lies, in our ungrudging bestowal of help, or in France's ungrudging acceptance of it.

#### IV.

But indeed, all the Atlantic nations are something more than friendly to us to-day, and this despite the acute diplomatic difficulties which the practical blockade of Germany has provoked. For we have all earned a living on the sea, and have drunk deeply of the ideals which the sea has fostered in us. If France has remained the most military of us, she has proved that it is from no wish of her own. She recently attempted to establish a reduction of her term of service; she has always supported efforts to enlarge the scope of the Hague Tribunal; and she was obviously unprepared for aggression when this fatal war broke in upon her land. The sea, which is no man's territory, has brought us all together, and it is from the sea there will sooner or later inevitably rise a world-order from which no power can stand aside. I cannot think from what I see in Europe and the world that our long supremacy on the

sea has been seriously abused, or that it has done anything but prepare the way for a consenting federation of the earth. Norway, before joining the Scandinavian pact for a common foreign policy, made it plain that, whatever Denmark and Sweden might do, she stood by us. Over the whole world, she said, England had opened trade routes, established security, buoyed dangerous channels, and given these advantages without grudge to every mercantile marine of the world. Portugal, recognizing the temptations we have sometimes resisted to appropriate her unprotected colonial possessions, has come to trust us implicitly, and to regard herself as our ally. Denmark and Holland, though both having long sea frontiers and jealously treasuring their distant and exposed possessions, have, so far as sea-power is concerned, practically disarmed. France, as is well known, recently removed her navy to the Mediterranean. And a widespread attitude in America is aptly expressed in the amusing story of the German who objected to the American proposal for universal disarmament. "But some provision would have to be made for policing the world," said the German. "There would always be the British Navy," replied the American.

The centuries of warfare in which we fought Spain and Portugal, Holland, Denmark, France and America, ended in our holding a paramount position on the sea for a hundred years. And it is in that hundred years that our sometime foes have gradually come to form with us a genuine fellowship of nations, in which international law was fast becoming as binding as national law and a universal tribunal the recognized court of appeal. This fellowship has an inevitable tendency to grow wherever the approach to a country is by sea. Japan would never have fought her recent war with Russia had it not been for the new land approach of the Siberian railway. She is now helping England with an enthusiasm scarcely recognized. The South American States are in the main silently with us, and if the United States is politically neutral to-day, it is certain that in the unhappy event of a renewal of the struggle in some future generation, America will come to our aid as inevitably as we came to the aid of France.

It is our unique position in the Atlantic fellowship that affords the only true sense in which we are the champion of the smaller nations. Compared with Germany, America and Russia, we are ourselves a small people, entirely unable to protect all the weaker races of the earth. But in the Atlantic area the sanctity of local patriotism which is the inspiration of our own Empire has gradually asserted itself, and here our power is an effective bulwark of the smaller nations. It was when Germany, who had reaped a rich harvest from the benefits of this Atlantic fellowship, transgressed its spirit by attacking France and overwhelming Belgium, that she

challenged us to its defence. And its triumph in the victory of England and France is the great hope for the establishment of a genuine world polity.

## V.

Behind the westward-facing powers of the coast of Europe one enters, as has been said, a zone where a different psychology exists. In Germany, Austria, Switzerland, and even Sweden, a relatively high importance is attached to routine efficiency and diligent investigation, as compared with adventurous enterprise and resource. Italy, on the one hand, and France on the other, are not so easily classified; but, generally speaking, the sea peoples have versatility where the continentals have painstaking thoroughness, outlook where the others have concentration, great individual initiative where the others have highly departmental organization. Whether or not connected with this, either as cause or as effect, it is also true that among the sea peoples a nation's independent character tends to be regarded as something founded on language, race, or national consciousness, and amongst the continentals as founded upon its organized military resources. No doubt both points of view are generally accepted as relative to the question, and it is difficult to draw a true generalization. But the striking difference in *emphasis*, even in small countries like Denmark and Holland, as against Sweden and Switzerland, is significant of a real psychological divergence.

Now it has frequently been alleged that the "armament" psychology of continental Europe is due to the menace of Russia from the East. This, it was said, compelled the Central Powers to maintain immense armies for protection, with the result that they drove their western neighbours into the armament race. The view seems so logical, and derives so much support from the horror felt by the advanced political nations for Russia's repressive internal policy, that it has been accepted uncritically by many of us. It ought, however, to have received fresh consideration after the attempt and failure of the Tsar's proposal for the Hague scheme of general disarmament. If Russia had been the prime difficulty in the way, this step ought to have led to some more definite result in the direction proposed. Even more striking to us was the fact of our repeated endeavours, and our repeated failure, to come to an agreement with Germany for naval reductions. It is evident that the difficulty was not in the East, but in the centre; for, however large our navy, it could never be the menace to Germany that the Russian armies might be; and it became obvious that the German navy had grown beyond the requirements of defence against France and Russia.

Nevertheless, the fact remained that Germany, situated between

France and Russia, had long been in a state of nervous tension. France had a permanent grievance against her, and if it was true that Russia, under a cloak of pacifism, was waiting her hour to strike, this would explain the German armies, if not the navy. At all events, it seemed necessary for anyone wishing to gain a first-hand view of the whole situation to visit Russia. Accordingly I set out early in the summer to discover, if I could, whether our alliance with Russia, was a purely military exigency, the alliance of a radically aggressive with a radically pacific civilization, or if she was, as her action in calling the Hague tribunal suggested, a natural ally of our Atlantic fellowship.

In visiting Russia I discovered, what I had so often heard, that an Englishman who went there was destined to leave his heart behind with the Russian people. This makes the question all the more insistent, How can so lovable a people possess a form of government in certain ways so hateful? And the answer given in Russia is that for centuries Russia has been dominated by Teutonic influences that have poisoned her life at the core. Peter the Great was obliged to draw upon German efficiency and knowledge for means to further his westernising of Russia. He preferred England and Holland, but the proximity of Germany made the Teutons the readier resource. Unfortunately, the psychology of these two races is deeply opposed, and the attempt at amalgamation has proved injurious to both.

Taking the Prussian at his best, I suppose one may say that his watchword is duty, his paramount duty being to the state. But there can be no doubt that the thing that moves the Slav is his affection, and he is incapable of recognizing a duty to anything that does not command his devotion. He has great talent for organization, and the communal life is as natural to him as the family affections; but a bureaucratic hierarchy is something alien and incomprehensible to him, and a government machine, demanding for its efficient administration a cold impersonal sense of duty, had no appeal to the Russian temperament. The officials became corrupt and negligent of the machine, or enforced it upon an unreceptive people by ruthless penalties and repression. It is a piteous tale, and the great hope of this war is that, the machine having to some extent broken down, the local and truly indigenous organization of the country will succeed in maintaining the very important position which it has won during the crisis. Russia has at last had a chance to learn to recognize her own national genius, and it is already a great gain for her to have publicly labelled all her worst offences "German." Even if this is only partly just, it makes it hard for her to return to her vomit.

The view that her crimes are due to some kind of indigestion of an alien element gains support from the fine influences always

clearly at work in the Russian government during the past hundred years. Few countries, if any, can boast a better record of chivalrous action abroad, or of great reforms at home. The present eradication of her national vice of drunkenness is typical. The reform is largely voluntary, as it is not impossible to obtain small quantities of certain spirituous liquors, but it has been estimated that ninety-eight per cent. of the population is now absolutely teetotal, and this is certainly not too high an estimate so far as my observations went. Largely as a result, no doubt, of this, I found a Russian crowd the most delightful company in the world. One never tired of watching the very English-looking children playing their vigorous games in the Petrograd public gardens. The picturesque streets and fine parks of Moscow, the terraces overlooking the Volga at Yaroslav, and Nijni, are full of people so like ourselves that even the very unfamiliar language does not disturb one's sense of being at home; and there are scenes at wayside stations, where the crowds gathered to send off parties to the front, that must always bind one to this cheerful, tender, dauntless people.

Russia may have armies greater than any nation in the world, but the Russians can never be a militarist people. She may have longer to struggle for her popular liberties than any of us, but in the end she will get them. The position of her railways may be dictated by her military needs, but meanwhile they circulate industry, ideas, and education, which will make her future sure. Rome built roads for her armies, but Britain created railways for her commerce, and the railway is the ship come ashore. The vast plains of Siberia and European Russia, like those of Canada and the United States, are rapidly opening their wealth to this new vehicle of commerce, which sprang from our sea-civilization. In countries where the current of political thought was already set, it may have failed to reverse the trend, but it will yet turn the still green civilization of Russia to the type of the Atlantic powers.

And the same will happen in Germany, too, when, and only when, she admits the miscarriage of her military ambitions. Europe and the earth will be grouped into larger corporations as the centuries succeed one another. This is a process which has never been permanently arrested since the dawn of history. The question at issue to-day is as to which type these larger groupings shall follow. Are they to be founded upon a military organization, irresistibly imposing its authority, or are the bonds to be those of spontaneous association in which every land preserves its own historical characteristics, its own patriotic sentiment, and contributes its own genius to the common tasks of civilization? We are fighting to decide whether human corporations are to be of the type that is bound from without, or by something springing from within. It is

impossible for this latter type to be absorbed by the former without destruction. The Atlantic group can never become part of a Germanic polity. On the other hand, if the Atlantic civilization prevails the continental powers will still contribute all that is great in them to the common stock; their massive sense of the corporate life and of the finality of scientific method are all important correctives to so much that is slovenly and unsocial in the British, French, and American civilization.

Even Germany, in the end, will find, like the rest of us, that the scope of her genius is enlarged by the reversal of her military organization. No friend of the world, or even of Germany herself, ought to wish her to come out triumphant from this struggle. A young Russian officer, at a moment of many Russian disasters, said to me as he left for the front, with that light in his eyes we have learnt to know at home, "Yes, this is a blessed war for Russia." The ordeal Russia has passed through will leave her a permanently nobler land. And it will be a blessed war for Germany, if and when she is obliged to realize her military failure. It is our unsuccessful crimes that teach us to understand the sordid nature of crime. Let Germany fail, and she will then look at Belgium and France and Poland and Serbia and Armenia, at the Atlantic, at Austria, and at her own desolated land, and she will have to endure the fierce purgatory of *seeing* what she has *done*. No nation has ever had to expect a more terrible awakening, but if she wakes, posterity may yet look upon this war and say, "Yes, that was a blessed war for Europe."

JOSEPH WICKSTEED.



Westminster: an Interpretative Survey.

I.

METHOD: THE NON-NATIONAL UNIT.

II.

THE MEDIEVAL CITY: ITS SURVIVALS AND TENDENCIES.

## I.

## METHOD: THE NON-NATIONAL UNIT.

THOUGH we are about to introduce to the reader what is probably for him a somewhat novel mode of presenting history and using historic analysis for the interpretation of current events, our purpose happily does not necessitate any deep or extensive discussion of method. We need only address ourselves to two simple issues. The first is to indicate the traditional lines of study and research which we seek to continue and develop. The second is to outline the general framework within which we propose to present each historic scene of our interpretative series.

An "interpretative survey" has, we conceive, its purpose and justification in the "outline of policy" which it yields and which is really its extension into the world of practice. On this ground alone it should be evident that our survey of Westminster in no way competes with, and still less makes pretension to supersede, such standard ones as that of Booth on the economic side or of Besant on the historical. On the contrary, we assume both these works as starting points of our own somewhat different endeavour. We not only utilize their data, selecting from their inexhaustible treasures what is relevant to our purpose, but we even endorse and adopt their methods as far as they can be made to serve our ends.

Besant's vision of Westminster was a drama of romantic personalities; or when not rising to the dramatic level, it was at least a pageant of the picturesque past.<sup>1</sup> The essential characteristic of his aspiration to recreate the scenes of the past in lifelike pictures is expressed in the circumstance that he prepared himself—as it were—to write his chapter on the mediæval Abbey by a visit to the contemporary Benedictine Abbot of Downside.

Charles Booth, on the other hand, in looking at Westminster (as in looking at any other region of London), sees the contemporary city of daily life and toil. For him Westminster is a group of families needing for maintenance definite quantities of food, clothing and shelter, and most of them continuously struggling to rise above the poverty line, or to save themselves from falling below it. And the institutions of the city—more especially its churches and chapels, its schools and taverns—he sees as mainly noteworthy in that they advance or retard the family's daily struggle for survival.

Up to a point the methods of both investigators are the same. The ideal exploitation of each method would involve a house to

1. In his *Survey of Westminster* he follows this method more closely than in his *Survey of London*.

house visitation. But while Besant asks: "Of what historic romance has this house been the scene? what notability, maybe, lived here and bequeathed to the place an atmosphere of sentiment? what part did he or she play in the history of the nation, what contribute to its roll of glory?"—Booth, on the other hand, asks about each house, "Who lives here to-day? what income does the family receive? how earned, how spent, and with what result on domestic wellbeing? what neighbouring institutions relate the members of the family to the social life around them, and with what result on the family and the neighbourhood?" The many-sided Besant was, to be sure, an observer and a lover of contemporary no less than historical romance; but he searched for it in mansion and cottage, in mine and counting house, on the seas and the mountains, even (as was the fashion in those days) in the slums—anywhere in short rather than in the daily life of that plain citizen's household which fills the foreground of Booth's canvas.

These two contrasted standpoints—one personal, dramatic and historic, the other social, economic, institutional—we have tried to keep in view throughout our survey, and it has been our effort to combine the data gleaned from each into a single composition.

But we have endeavoured also to continue and develop a third traditional approach to the understanding of the present. The concept of the Future as open to exploration through an investigation of the Present, which again is intelligible in terms of the Past, is a product of those studies which in the eighteenth century flourished under the title *Philosophy of History*. Two seventeenth century precursors of this line of research well expressed its fundamental affirmations in memorable phrases. "The present," said Leibnitz, "is charged with the past and big with the future." Again, the continuity of past, present and future was tersely put in the saying of Pascal (usually attributed to Lessing, who elaborated it in an essay) that the more perfect and ordered the record of tradition, the more the human race becomes as one man, always living, always learning.

During the past two or three generations the "philosophy of history" has fallen into discredit, and practically ceased as a serious occupation for historians. Subjugated by the German ideal of exhaustive research—generally research into the documentary minutiae of a restricted and more or less arbitrary "period"—our professors of history have not only neglected, but even poured contempt upon the search for unified vistas.<sup>1</sup> Yet the quest of unification, in which the philosophers of history were so deeply concerned, was formerly a main impulse to historic inquiry in its

1. The present state of these studies in our universities may be inferred from the following facts. "The Cambridge Modern History," designed to embody the highest results of English-historical scholarship, was intended

accepted modern form, so that the want of respect for the wider pre-occupation implies either some want of memory or of gratitude. And it is even a question whether the prevailing academic disrespect for an ideal and a quest which postulated the rationality of world history and stressed the unity of mankind is not chargeable with a large share in producing—or in giving intellectual sanction and expression to—the present fissure of western civilization into an affair of internecine rivalries of nationalities and states.

But let us not be misunderstood. We plead for no abandonment of minute factual research, nor even for its diminution; but only for its subordination to synthetic ideals, and its emplacement in a larger orientation of studies and purposes. We plead also for a broader interpretation of the concept "document," and to that end would generalize the example of Besant, who (as we have seen) affirmed in the most practical way his belief that for a study of the Benedictine Order, a live Benedictine abbot was a primary and indispensable "document." This is by the way. What we desire to affirm is our belief that a renewal and development of the "Philosophy of History" is urgently needed and that not only for its own sake but also because it should prove an active solvent

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to wind up with a survey and examination of philosophies of history. In the opinion of Lord Acton, projector and architect of the work (and its editor throughout, had he lived) there was one man only in Great Britain capable of presenting that culminating study—and he was a Scottish theologian with a leaning to the French systematic tradition. To Professor Flint, accordingly, Lord Acton appealed in a letter in which he said: "That we may conclude well and with effect I have proposed that the last chapter should be on operative philosophies of history, on condition of course that you consent to write it . . . *there will be no such chapter if you should inauspiciously decline.*" The italics are ours, and further comment is perhaps superfluous. Yet the sequel is worth noting. (1) Flint being unable to comply, the History appeared without the needed philosophical survey which should have completed and indeed crowned it. (2) Acton died before the first volume was published; and in the hands of his successors and their collaborators the great work projected by this illustrious Liberal (in no partisan sense of that term) has become in effect—without advertisement, without intention, and largely without its being perceived—the chief literary monument of the anti-idealist and anti-democratic Reaction which has prevailed so exceedingly during the past half generation, and perhaps nowhere more completely than among academic and scholastic professionals of England. (3) Prof. Flint died more recently; and the fact was noted by "The Athenæum," if we remember aright, in a line or two of its Literary Gossip, where it announces also the special contents of forthcoming popular magazines. Yet to many that death seemed the passing of the last of the Europeans: in the sense in which the great thinkers and scholars of the Middle Age and the early Renaissance were Europeans—not only in audience and reputation but in the habitual view and abode of their mind.

of national animosities and so would make for the recovery of European sanity. For the needed re-orientation of traditional studies many changes, alike of form and substance, are prerequisite. One of the most vital pre-requisites, it seems to us, is that students of historical synthesis should agree upon some *non-national* unit of investigation, and that it should be a unit which, like the "species" of naturalists, is unquestionably adapted to those concrete collective methods of research which, in the long run, ensure some measure of definite progress in the established sciences. That such a concrete unit is afforded by the "city" is an assumption running throughout the present endeavour to interpret Westminster—Past, Present and Incipient—by the aid of concepts derived in considerable measure from various traditional schools of the philosophy of history.

Thus, in so far as our method has novelty, the novelty resides in an attempt to present the history of a representative city in terms of personal drama, and simultaneously also in terms of economic and social institutions and the general movement of civilisation. In other words, we seek to combine (in principle) the historic or dramatic method of Besant with the observational or scientific method of Booth and the generalised method of philosophy. But these methods are rather two than three, since the observations and classifications of science, whether of things past or present, have their natural and proper fruit in the generalizations of philosophy. For this two-fold enterprise a special notation has to be contrived, and it should be one that has the qualities of symbolism at its best, i.e., at once pictorial and diagrammatic. Such a desideratum means, of course, a large initial difficulty. But the difficulty, which is at first an obstacle, should act also as a stimulus when we remind ourselves that progress in the arts and the sciences alike is intimately associated with the development of notation. The scheme of notation here offered (though the product of many years' experimentation by the present investigators, and of at least two generations of predecessors) is, of course, to be regarded only as a provisional solution—a first approximation towards the more perfect system that would grow out of a more extended research and more enlightened endeavour.

The scheme exhibits the element of personal drama in 84 sketches which compose into the larger groupings of a developing series of social situations. All of these, again, may be read not in terms of personality but of types inheriting and transmitting a given tradition; acted on by a given milieu and, in turn, reacting on it. When so read the history of the city, previously observed as a drama of personalities, appears in the impersonal guise of social evolution. By a little effort the notation may be read both ways simultaneously, just as a pianist reads at the same time bass and

treble of the musical score. And, as the bi-manual efforts of the musician are rewarded by the revelation of higher harmonies, so the civic student discovers in the end that this two methods are really one, for he comes to see the process of social evolution as itself a higher kind of drama: nothing less poignant than the drama of the human Prometheus in ceaseless contest for the mastery of his fate. And is it not true that in this continuing labour of the Titans the city is incomparably the most efficient instrument of mastery and likewise its highest reward, doubly therefore symbol of victory? And if so, then it follows that each citizen, in the measure that he identifies his own life with that of his city, becomes participant in this the supreme drama of life—a drama in which the historic cities are assuredly the most abiding players, for is not their influence undying? Our notational scheme, then, is devised to show the life of the citizen intertwining with that of his city, and both together playing a rôle of increasing clearness, purpose and achievement in the secular drama of Humanity, of which the whole world is the stage.

For illustration of the method let us turn to Plate I. (between pp. 267 and 268)—“Mediæval Westminster”—and consider its framework and the placing of the twelve drawings therein. Recalling that the distinction between State and Church, now of secondary import, was in mediæval times primary and vital and in the daily consciousness of all alike, high and low, we describe that elemental bifurcation in the more general form of contrasted but co-ordinated Temporal and Spiritual Powers. The drawings on the left hand page show three successive phases of the Temporal Power; the drawings on the right hand page show the corresponding phases of the Spiritual Power.

As representing the Temporal Power the king with his barons occupy the first square and the serfs—later becoming townsmen—the second square. These two aspects or hemispheres of the Temporal Power are shown in three successive phases as they change from time to time. On the opposite page are shown in a parallel series of views the corresponding Spiritual Power as represented by the Secular Clergy with their flock in the first square, and the Regular Clergy in the second.

Here, then, in Plate I., we present a picture of mediæval Westminster as a typical city of its era. The bottom line of four drawings read horizontally across the double page shows what might be technically called the “social situation” characterizing the origins of mediæval Westminster; the second line shows the “social situation” at the climax of the era, and the third or top line that of its decline. The twelve sketches taken altogether are designed as a *time section* of the middle age in its growth, maturity and decline. Each of the three horizontal sets taken by itself is



designed to serve as a working model of the mediæval system at a given phase of its development.

Now the transition from the middle ages is, as it were, the hinge of modern history. Of the many transformations which turn on that hinge one of the most significant is the change in thought from the controlling idea of social fixity to that of social development. The very notion of a social science emerged, in point of historical fact, at the moment when Comte detected in the vital components of the mediæval system *general types*, and proclaimed them as the formative elements of all social mutations. In that moment of insight into the social process the science of sociology was born. It is therefore in direct continuity with the main line of sociological tradition that we should take our analysis of the mediæval city and make it the pattern of our general framework. In other words, by re-naming its parts in general terms, the framework is made to serve also for other periods.

Hence, for the analysis and description of subsequent eras, use is made of Comte's generalization of the mediæval social quartet, Barons, Serfs, Seculars, Regulars, into Chiefs, People, Emotionals, Intellectuals respectively. In each case, the Chiefs and the People, dominantly functional in a given era, are—whatever their precise political or social description may be—termed its Temporal Power; similarly the Emotionals and Intellectuals, then dominantly functional, are termed its Spiritual Power—again adopting Comte's conception of history as the interplay of Temporal and Spiritual Powers.

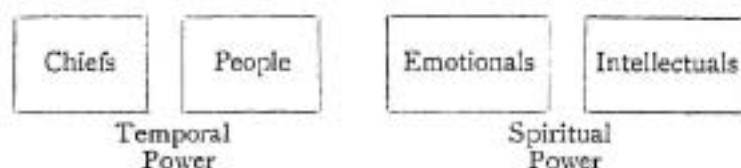
In defence (if defence seems called for) of this somewhat apparitional and unexpected classification of social types as Chiefs, People, Emotionals and Intellectuals, it may be remarked that though introduced by Comte in this form into modern sociology, it outcrops in one form or another, with more or less clearness, in the writings of reflective observers from Plato and Aristotle to H. G. Wells and Arnold Bennett. Plato's Guardians, Artisans, Poets and Philosophers are manifestly chiefs, people, emotionals and intellectuals. Even such also are Aristotle's Citizens, Labourers, Teachers and Philosophers. Amongst Mr. Wells' "Modern Utopians" the normal types were classed as Kinetics and Poietics, each of which again exhibited two main varieties, the more active and the more passive—that is, there were plus kinetics and minus kinetics or chiefs and people; and plus poietics and minus poietics or emotionals and intellectuals. A verification wanting neither in directness nor actuality may be found in the fact that Mr. Arnold Bennett, with his keen naturalistic eye, found, in a recent visit to the Clyde, men in that complex situation sorting themselves out into Organisers, Workers, Energisers, Initiators—a nomenclature

that goes straight to the root of the matter. Again, if a symbolism is wanted for the four types, one may be found ready made in the tradition that gives us our playing cards. "Spades" is a mis-rendering of the Spanish *espada*, a sword, and obviously stands for the chiefs, while equally do clubs, hearts and diamonds for people, emotionals and intellectuals respectively.

Adopting, then, Comte's two master generalisations, and also his nomenclature both for social types and for social formations (as temporal and spiritual), let us lay out the formula in a way which will show, as it were, the anatomy of the social order. Taking squares of equal magnitude for the four social types, let us bring together the chiefs and the people on the left hand side, with a small intervening space, to indicate their partial and fitful cohesion as a Temporal Power. On the right we similarly indicate the natural separation of emotionals and intellectuals as social types, yet also their tendency to come together and constitute a Spiritual Power. Finally, by bringing all four into a single line and separating the temporal from the spiritual pair by a wider space, we indicate (a) that in any given "social situation" all four types tend to emerge and play their respective parts; (b) that the four elements of the situation compose into a temporal and a spiritual couple; (c) that these couples combine in varying degrees of intimacy and interdependence to organise, to work, to energise and to guide the "movement" that tends to issue from a "social situation," as a stream from its source. As a further convention with a touch of symbolism, an endeavour is made throughout to represent Temporal Powers by Exteriors and Spiritual Powers by Interiors.

It has, of course, to be remembered that in applying such a formula straightway for analysis of a whole city, state, nation, or civilization, we can only expect roughly approximate results. A "social situation" on a large scale has its real elements not so much in individual types as in a graduated set of minor "situations" to each of which in turn the formula should be first applied. Thus for adequate historical research innumerable subsidiary situations have to be analysed methodically, stage by stage, in an ascending series towards a climax which may be civic, national or supranational. Moreover the analysis of its varied temporal and spiritual powers should be made for each successive generation or, better still, each half generation of the period under investigation. Such a propædæutic obviously implies organised research far beyond the present endeavour, which must needs content itself with a modest tentative.

Thus the general scheme here adopted for analysis and presentation of each successive social phase is:—



It is this form we would stress with all emphasis as the KEY PLAN of the notational scheme. To practise the reading of history and to interpret current events in each of the two ways implied by the formula, and to continue the exercise until the mind works automatically in both the consequent methods, is our urgent counsel. Fill in each square with its relevant personalities, and you get the dominant social situation of the day read as drama. Trace the past filiations of these personalities and you get the dramatic reading of history. Interpret the same social situation in terms of temporal and spiritual powers and trace their past filiations, you get a rendering of contemporary life and of social evolution as the interplay of larger forces. Such forces, to be sure, work through individuals, but their efficient instruments are wars and religions, systems of law and philosophy, organized industries and experimental sciences. All of these have their institutional forms, which again integrate into the quasi-personal entities of city, nation, state, empire, etc. It is our contention, as stated above, that the city is the most concrete and continuous of these high protagonists, and consequently is the most suitable unit for naturalistic studies of social evolution. Moreover, by taking the city as our unitary concept in a purposive interpretation of evolving life, do we not the better preserve an ideal of "personality" as the culminating expression and supreme issue of life in evolution? Can the greatest of nations and empires compare with the historic cities in intensity of Personality, if we mean by Personality dynamic power to select and gather together the finest threads of life and out of them create noble and beautiful types of culture? Are not the great historic cities transcendent in this respect; and are they not so determinant in the moulding even of their most creative citizens, that these, as culture-heroes, splendid though they be, yet appear but the by-play of a civic demiourgos?

Departing but slightly from well established convention, we choose the following eras or "periods," through or in which to trace the growth of Westminster city:—

#### Historic—

1. Mediæval.
2. Renaissance and Reformation.
3. The Civil War and the Restoration.

## Recent and Contemporary—

4. The Parliamentary era.
5. The Ministerial era.

Plates I. to V. thus trace the changing phases of Westminster proper (the precincts of the Abbey and of the Houses of Parliament, *i.e.*, the old city and Whitehall) in the above periods. In two final plates an endeavour is made to analyse and portray those tendencies which mark incipient Westminster.

The ever growing complexity of the modern order derives from the continuance and interaction of past "social situations" in the present formation. In this civil-complex, the aim of the historic survey is to analyse out with increasing approximation to reality first the simpler surviving "social situations" and next the incipient ones.

Hence a survey of contemporary Westminster resolves itself into (a) a study of surviving Temporal and Spiritual Powers, (b) a selection of such tendencies as we may observe and judge to be of special significance towards the development of Temporal and Spiritual Powers that are in course of incubation.

In sum our whole presentment is of the life of Westminster, historic and contemporary, as a drama in five acts (Plates I.—V.). That which our method enables us to discover of its continuation into the future is indicated in what might be called the Epilogue of Incipient Westminster (Plates VI. and VII.).

It may serve at once to display the character of our formula and to test its value if we essay an application to a topic of current interest. Consider the "social solidarity" instantly effected in each belligerent country by the outbreak of war. It was relatively easy for (say) Mr. Asquith and Mr. Will Crooks to combine with each other and with (say) the Rev. Dr. Clifford and Mr. Sidney Webb. Because the two former, though they do not have their precise spiritual equivalents in the two latter, yet match them historically, being all four representative respectively of chiefs, people, emotionals and intellectuals within the Parliamentary Order; all of them would place that institution centrally in their social system, though each might wish to use it differently from the other three. But not only did these four unite into a single quartet; further, they joined in the same orchestra with (say) Lord Derby and his peasant tenants, the Bishop of London and the Oxford professors of Divinity. And that was indeed a feat of harmony, since the latter four—as respectively surviving chief, people, emotionals and intellectuals of the mediæval order—would, under less exigent conditions, have sung to a note of different and

probably discordant pitch from that of the Parliamentarians. The truth is that the parliamentary scale and the mediæval scale are both of such range that at a certain pitch the characteristic note of each is capable of combining with the other into a simple harmonic chord. The rarity of the social combination measures the difficulty of discovering that particular pitch.

Now war is undoubtedly a great awakener, and it is all to the good that the nation should be roused so far towards unity. But when this good has been gained (confessedly at a severe cost) it at once presents to us a new and urgent issue—how not to be arrested there, still less to slide back, but to push on to a deeper and more lasting unity. This can scarcely be effected by war directly; for that, besides being an expensive and fitful way of evoking the simplest kind of national harmony, fails to evoke the more complex harmonies of ideas, perceptions and the goodwill to initiate, that are requisite for high social endeavour, and it has moreover the disadvantage of provoking a corresponding international discord.

William James projected as a countering ideal "the moral equivalent of War." The dangers of the lifeboat, of fire brigade and fever hospital service will always appeal to adventurous youth and are so far moral equivalents of war. But how to devise altruistic exploit on the grand scale that will fire the heart of whole social classes? It would be out of place to attack that problem here, but let it be remarked in passing that we hope to contribute something towards its solution later on in the survey. Here we have merely to claim a relevance for our method of historic notation, since that, we believe, is capable of a certain efficacy in the educational preparation that must be preliminary to the greater task of social unison.

To make this point clear let us again have recourse to the musical metaphor. Suppose, as indeed the metaphor assumes, that the chiefs and people, emotionals and intellectuals, of each order have their characteristic notes, all of the same pitch, and thus spontaneously compose into the distinctive—so to say "specific"—melody of that order. (There will, of course, be found several varieties of that particular melody as one passes under observation, in each separate nation of the same civilization, the surviving examples of the given social order.) Now, the supposition that the pitch of each social note is capable of composing with each and all the others into a chord of harmony depends of course upon our combining them according to the discoverable laws of some general music. That such a general music exists, at least for each nation, the example of the war shows; it also shows how little we know of its laws and their working.

It is our contention that the interpretative survey in its historic application is, as it were, a rough and ready first approximation to

a chromatic scale for the music of western civilization. If the student were diligently practised in its exercise, would not that constitute a sort of mental preparation for the higher social harmony? He would at least learn in turn to play the melody of each surviving historic order, and so might fit himself to take his part in the concert of the whole. And if by a change of habit in the fashion-making classes the pleasing process of musical adaptation by interpretative survey should become a customary educational discipline, we might not have to wait till the next war for another national concert!

In some vital respects the method of presentation outlined above is anticipated and applied to general history by Mr. Gooch in his "Annals of Politics and Culture," the original scheme of which, as the author tells us, was designed by that admirable Crichton of modern historians, Lord Acton. Mr. Gooch's book indeed may be used as a supplementary statement of events and items implicit in the "social situations" indicated in the drawings of our illustrative plates, so far as these, in exhibiting the history of Westminster, resume or reflect the general occidental history of their period.

"No presentation of history," says Mr. Gooch in his preface, "can be adequate which neglects the growth of the religious, consciousness, of literature, of the moral and physical sciences, of art, of scholarship, of social life. Numerous handbooks deal with politics alone and a few with what the Germans call 'Kulturgeschichte,' but no systematic attempt has hitherto been made either in English or in other languages to combine them. The plan of the book, which not less than the idea, represents a new departure may be briefly explained. The left hand page deals with Politics, the right hand page, with what I have termed, for the sake of brevity, Culture. The Politics and Culture of each year are as nearly as possible level, in order that the reader may see at a glance what was taking place in the chief departments of thought and action at any given moment."

In his record of "politics," Mr. Gooch interprets that word in a wide sense and includes the main events of economic history. But taking "politics" in its narrower sense, it is roughly the history of the directing classes as they change from age to age. In this sense political history is the history of the "chiefs," and in a similarly restricted sense, economic history is the history of the "people." The politics and the economics of a particular era may be regarded as the two correlated facets of the form into which crystallizes the Temporal Power characteristic of that era. But as every individual action has its corresponding states of feeling and of thought, so the collective action systematized as political and economic has its emotional and intellectual accompaniment in that



grouped similarity of dispositions which prompts many individuals to common action. And when such similarity of disposition becomes sufficiently pervasive to give a distinguishing mark to the age, it takes form in various organisations which together become the dominant and effective spiritual power of that age.

The historical scholarship of the past two or three generations (largely under Germanic influence) has emphasized economic and political history, and has treated religion, art, literature and science as so far subordinate as to be practically negligible in the history of states and their policies, or in the determination of industrial development.<sup>1</sup> The result of this one-sided treatment of history is that no need has disclosed itself in recent writings, for a nomenclature to indicate the correlated two-fold aspect of public life as temporal and spiritual. Thus, when Mr. Gooch introduced the method of narrating "Politics" on one page and "Culture" on the opposite, he made a notable departure in English historical scholarship. It was indeed a bold attempt to return (to be sure, on a higher spiral) to a tradition antecedent to the present vogue, which isolates from the general milieu the State with its immediate scheme of interests, elevating them to that dizzy pinnacle on which they would seem now to be tottering.

Of all the western nations infected by this political erastianism, France, if it did not absorb least of the poison, has yet preserved in more vital activity the necessary corrective tradition. It is on that tradition we have drawn in an endeavour to continue Mr. Gooch's initiative, and to supplement it in our presentation of Westminster by a more systematic analysis of the contents represented by his "Politics" and "Culture." We adopt Comte's formulæ of historic analysis and filiation in amplest recognition of his genius, and of the genius of a nation which in its attempts to keep alight the spiritual torch in a material age has earned the title of "eldest daughter of the Church" in a deep sense, though perhaps not quite that originally intended. But with this acknowledgment of indebtedness must go also a *caveat* against possible misunderstanding. To borrow two analytical formulæ from the treasure house of Comte's innumerable generalizations manifestly

1. It is the misfortune and not the fault of German scholarship that its amplest development and consequent maximum influence on civilization should have coincided with that historic moment when political temporalities were most absolute in the Western world. The origins of that particular type of sovereignty were to be sure general rather than German, while the earliest authoritative theorizings from that point of view were not German but Italian, French and English. It was, nevertheless, the thoroughgoing German scholarship of the nineteenth century that gave system and academic status to the theory of the Absolute State throughout the universities of the world and especially impressed it on British and American professors of history and speculative politics.

implies no formal adherence to his philosophical system and still less to the practical applications of it which its author and his followers have sought to make. One may observe and wonder at the processional spectacle of "Chiefs and People," of "Emotionals and Intellectuals" all playing their parts in the never ending drama of Temporal and Spiritual Powers—a drama of unimagined complexity, for each combination struggles incessantly to maintain itself against rivals, predecessors as well as successors actual and incipient. Without being a Positivist one may thrill to this Pageant of the Past marching full-panoplied into the Future and creating the Present as it moves along—just as without being a Roman Catholic one may enjoy the moral satisfaction of fasting from meat on Fridays.

Truth to tell, the beguilements of political materialism and its twin vice of economic dialectics have little temptation for the student of history who, searching like the naturalist for concrete objects of observation, finds them in a "comparative anatomy" of cities. The reason lies in the very nature of cities. Perambulating the cities of Europe with map and guide-book in hand, and reading their past by the aid of survivals, the naturalist historian watches the rise and multiplication, now of cathedrals and abbeys, again of universities, academies, and museums; now of theatres, picture galleries and concert halls, again of schools, colleges, and all the manifold kinds of cultural and technological institute. These, the infinitely opulent manifestations of spiritual influences, clamour for attention and interpretation, not less but more insistently than do the castles of kings, the palaces of princes, the halls of legislators, or the bureaus of officials. Thus comes salvation from political materialism to the student of history who walks and watches. And to him also comes liberation from the vice of economic abstraction; since the highways and the waterways of commerce, the markets of traders and manufacturers, the exchanges of brokers and bankers, are certainly not less conspicuous to the peripatetic observer than to the sessile student of economic "documents." But it is impossible for the former to overlook and forget the homes and the family life that give meaning and purpose to all the apparatus and processes of trade and industry, for is not every city on first observation and in last analysis but a cluster of homes? It is a cluster of homes provided well or ill with means for continuing the life of the spirit from generation to generation. Through them the city as it develops becomes for good and evil the human and material embodiment of that continuing spiritual life. The generations of citizens in their passage reflect and absorb, create and are created by, the spirit of their city.

## II.

## THE MEDIEVAL CITY: ITS SURVIVALS AND TENDENCIES.

As to the origin of Westminster, we adopt the theory—so vividly elaborated by Besant and endorsed by our foremost geographer<sup>1</sup>—which makes it a Ford-Town, as London is a Bridge-Town. Let us therefore begin with the sketch (Plate I, fig. 2) which aims at reconstructing a typical scene at the ford. The era we select is that of the early Anglo-Saxon conversion to Christianity. London Bridge had not been built. Travellers and traffic from the north and the Midlands to the continent crossed the river at Westminster, because it was the first fordable place above the Thames estuary. Here therefore of necessity was the junction of the northern highways with the road to the continent which, passing through Rochester and Canterbury to Dover, ran along the firm ground between the estuary marshes of the Thames and the almost impenetrable Weald forest.

The highway from the north, known as Watling Street, debouched at this ford and continued on the other side of the river as Dover Street. Later, when London Bridge was built, Watling Street took a bend in the neighbourhood of what is now Oxford Street and ran thence towards London and its bridge. Previous to that, travellers and drovers, packmen and pilgrims, who had traversed Watling Street continued along Park Lane into the Green Park (taking place-names as they are to-day). There they found themselves on the border of the marsh land that has become St. James's Park. This was crossed along a way indicated by stakes. At the further end of this way, and just on the edge of the river, where Westminster Abbey now stands, there was a little neck of firm and rising ground (some three or four feet above high tide mark) called Thorney Island.

Imagine the state of mind of our traveller or drover from the north as he stood on Thorney Isle about to venture on the passage of the great river. He had but just waded through a quarter of a mile of treacherous marsh and swamp before arriving at this exiguous and momentary *terra firma*. Now he must plunge bodily into the river, again committing himself to the sole material guidance and support of stakes, and would have to wade for it, maybe breast high; contending all the way against the force of the current, and nervously mindful of what might befall him at treacherous places in the muddy bed. Given a traveller about to embark on so perilous an adventure, easily conceived is his need of a priest to confess, absolve, and hearten him—to put him *ex bono*

1. Mackinder. "Britain and the British Seas." P. 256.



9. WESTMINSTER PALACE.



10. MARKET PLACE.



11. ST. MARGARET'S.



12. ABBEY SCRIPTORIUM.



5. WESTMINSTER HALL.



6. CRAFTSMEN BUILDING OWN HOUSES.



7. PARISH CHURCH (WITH BISHOP).



8. MONK AND NOVICE.



1. KING SITTING AT JUSTICE.



2. THE FORD.



3. PRIEST SHRIVING TRAVELLERS.



4. HERMIT.

MEDIAEVAL

WESTMINSTER

*courage*, for the chances of this world and the next—by all the resources of religion. The resulting situation is depicted in fig. 3, where our artist shows a priest shriving travellers. Here then in the performance of such rites are the imaginative beginnings, not of Westminster Abbey and its Regular Clergy, but of its work-a-day complement, the parish church of St. Margaret's with its Secular Clergy. The work of the secular clergy in its broad social purpose was the emotionalizing of the people, by which we mean of course vitalizing, strengthening, calming. In that sense the seculars were the emotionals of the age, and the ceremonial ritual of the parish church must be judged as to its efficiency by these vital standards.

For the doing of justice in the disputes and crimes that would inevitably arise in such a situation as that of an incipient Ford-Town, we must imagine a periodic visitation of the King. Hence the sketch showing the royal judge sitting at justice in his tent with attendant knights (Fig. 1). If it be thought that this simple form of kingship is irreconcilable with present-day notions of royalty, the answer is that originating functions do not of themselves determine contemporary usage any more than good intentions necessarily make good deeds. Ceaseless social education is as needful in the one case as unending self-education is in the other. But if the confirmation of survival be desired, did we not recently learn from the press that King Nicholas of Montenegro numbered amongst his routine of duties the dispensing of justice in his capital from an open air seat under a tree, and that, moreover, he was, in person, his own chief of police?

We come now to the origin of the Abbey itself. Let us suppose that the conventual stage was preceded by that of the hermit. Where may we look for his original seat? There is to-day a block of buildings, known as St. Ermin's Mansions, a few hundred yards to the west of the Abbey, which may give us a clue. For it is so named because it stands on what used to be called Hermit's Hill, a slight eminence which was doubtless relatively higher before the successive building operations and road mendings of several centuries had raised the level of the surrounding soil. For the man of seclusion, a frequent moral type in the ages of religion and faith, this would be a natural site from which to observe the busy drama of the ford and yet remain himself detached from its activities. The opportunity to observe or retire at will into contemplation would supply the stimulus needed for successful pursuance of the meditative life. Such a simplest primitive origin of the cloistered and ordered life of the regular clergy is pictured in fig. 4. This stage has been put in the background for us by the more organized form and enduring memorials of that which succeeded, but it is well to recognise in the hermit the precursor of



the monk as we know him in the West. That general transition, which in early mediæval Europe took place so widely, from solitary hermits to conventual groups, would have its local illustration at the ford of Westminster in the foundation of the Benedictine Abbey which now stands there.

Passing over long centuries of preparatory development, let us come to the higher expression of the Middle Ages. As a social system its working may perhaps be seen at its best in Westminster about the middle of the twelfth century, in the time, say, of Henry II. A town has grown up on the island of Thorney, wherein liberated serfs are settled as craftsmen. A group of them (Plate I, fig. 6) is seen building one of those fine old timbered houses which testify to the artistic skill with which the people build for themselves, in a civilisation that has known how to incorporate them in the culture of the age.

The parish church of this town is shown in fig. 7, and was the round arch predecessor of the present St. Margaret's. The church, it will be seen, is thronged with worshippers, mostly townsmen and their families, but members of all classes are mingled in the devotion of the common faith. Let us assume the presence on this occasion of a neighbouring Bishop, officiating at some notable festival in the parish church. The emergence of the Bishop as a magistral personality, at once a religious and social power in the land, is one of the most significant and characteristic traits of the Middle Ages. The episcopal blessing was no piece of ritualistic punctilio but a real uplifting of the people. The effective sanctity and the far-reaching influence of the mediæval bishop rested on his real power of heartening the people, or at his will putting the fear of death and the torments of hell into the mind of wrongdoers, high as well as low. But the question is how and to what end did he use these unique powers? The cure of souls implied then as it is beginning to imply again the care of bodies, social and civic, as well as personal and domestic. In the social therapeutic of those times, the private and the public life were not divorced, but both were aspects of one single and indivisible life—that of the community. The bishop was therefore above all a designer and a builder of community life, parochial and civic, rural and urban. To concentrate and co-ordinate to this end all the available spiritual resources of the age was, is and must remain, the episcopal ideal.<sup>1</sup>

Turning to the chiefs in this the constructive phase of mediævalism, we observe that the growing organisation of justice from Westminster as a national centre has brought into existence

1. For a detailed study of how the episcopal system worked in the Middle Age through the popular theatre and other arts focussing in the cathedral, see Branford, "Interpretations and Forecasts," ch. v, pp. 204-232 (Duckworth & Co., 1914).



Westminster Hall, with its accompanying housing accommodation for the King and his court. A view of New Palace Yard from the river is shown in fig. 5. It received the epithet "new" when William Rufus added to the old Palace of Edward the Confessor the great Hall which is to-day all that survives above ground of that palace. The King is assisted by a Great Council, which later is to become the Parliament; but the old Palace, with its new hall, is still mainly to be thought of as the King's house in Westminster wherein he and his Council sit as Court of Judicature at certain times in the course of the year. The Court was an itinerant one, holding its sittings periodically for a routine of judicial and other functions at many different cities such as Winchester, Gloucester, Worcester, Lincoln, York, etc. These were the regional capitals which later sank to the status of "provincial towns," as the centralizing city grew—at their cost.

The scene taken as characteristic of the Abbey at this period is a monk instructing a novice in the rule of conventual life (Fig. 8). In this ordered transmission of the spiritual heritage from age and experience to youthful ardour lies largely the secret of monastic persistence and stability. In the intimate contact of King and Abbot by which the thought and wisdom of the latter guided and fortified the judicial and governmental activities of the former lies, we must assume, no small part of the Angevin kings' success in building the foundations of the English constitution. In short the Abbot and his monks served at this stage as the true and functional intellectuals of their social order, just as the secular clergy with the Bishop at their head served as its true and functional emotionals.

The final mediæval phase which we have selected for illustration may be considered as taken at any point in the period from, say, the beginning of the 14th to the end of the 15th century. Feudalism and Catholicism as a social system are declining, though there continue to be built, in great numbers and magnificence, churches, abbeys, and cathedrals. The castles of the nobles, formerly places of strength and simplicity (*i.e.*, fortresses), are beginning to be transformed into mansions and even palaces, increasingly sumptuous. The King's court is no longer an itinerant Court of Justice but stationary in the Palace of Westminster and rapidly becoming a courtier's court. Besant indeed estimated that there were at this time as many as 20,000 people attached in one way or another to the court, counting those housed in Westminster Palace itself and those serving it as workers and tradesmen living in its immediate purlieus. A contemporary view of New Palace Yard is shown in fig. 9. It will be noticed that where the King and a few knights were previously seen, there is now a great retinue of courtiers, and that the simple architecture of the previous buildings has

given place to examples of more ornate intention. The chiefs are ceasing to be chiefs of the people and tending to degenerate into a parasitic caste.

The present Abbey church of the decorated style has been built with funds gathered in all the many ways practised by the Middle Ages, including a continental levy (apt illustration of real European unity). The increased magnificence of the building has been accompanied by a decline of spiritual life. Instead of the aged monk helping the young novice through the stages of initiation, as in the previous sketch, we have now a single scholar immersed in the refinements of the Scriptorium (Fig. 12). On the one hand the court, increasingly forsaking the pursuit of justice for war, sport and the arts of display; and on the other the Abbey, increasingly substituting scholarly and æsthetic interests for the ordered sequence of prayer, praise and meditation—they are each drifting further from the other and suffering the penalties of isolation. The isolation is not only of the court from the abbey, and the abbey from the court, but of both from the people and from the city.

The parish church is the St. Margaret's we know to-day, of ornate perpendicular style. The worshippers are still numerous, but their ardour has decreased as the adornment and enrichment of the building has increased (Fig. 11). The life of the secular clergy is not devoted with the same zeal as formerly to the care and uplift of the people. The ceremonial service has grown more elaborate in ritual, more æsthetic in material equipment, more dramatic in presentation. But the spiritual life of the priest and of the parishioners does not march together with the intimacy of old. The emotionalizing of the people is ceasing to be an absorbing activity of the secular clergy, as the intellectualizing of the chiefs had ceased to be a leading interest of the regulars.

There were, then, elements of disruption arising spontaneously within the city. They were elements characteristic of the mediæval system in general. They are but samples of its many internal tendencies towards decay. Now, our survey of the mediæval period has so far been reduced to briefest limits, partly because the presentation is not made for its own sake, but only by way of an approach to the study of Westminster as it is to-day, and may be to-morrow. Partly, however, also to find room for consideration of certain tendencies which ran counter to the process of decline. Emerging into prominence more especially towards the end of the period, were elements of vitality which gave promise of a new crystallisation around the popular life of the city. Of these significant recommencements some developed into realities, others suffered early arrestment and thereafter exhibited themselves as barely perceptible tendencies. To-day they may be observed as survivals, in fact or in tradition, if not in Westminster yet in other

cities. To-morrow they may be renewed everywhere as initiatives.

Our concluding sketch therefore shows (Fig. 10, Plate I) the market place of Westminster as focus of that popular life which contained the seeds of re-birth. The people are here presented in a reconstruction which is not wholly imaginary. Though not indicated with any precision in the earliest plans of the city, the old mediæval market-place is nevertheless marked incidentally on a plan of the seventeenth century, which, by a fortunate exception, happens to be drawn to scale. By means of Sandford's map of James II's coronation procession we can therefore locate the old market-place with exact precision on the contemporary town-plan. Its centre was roughly at a point made by the intersection of two lines, one drawn from, say, the north end of Westminster Hall to the Horse Guards entrance, and another drawn at right angles to it from the main entrance to the Local Government Board in Parliament Street. It was a small market-place, between 40 and 50 yards square, and had (in Sandford's plan) a permanent structure of covered booths or stalls in the centre, probably of the kind indicated in our artist's sketch.

The market and all its memories have so completely vanished that even the laborious archaeologist would seem never to have felt the call to go in search of its traces. Oblivion so complete may be interpreted as a comprehensive and definitive token of the profound transformation that differentiates modern from mediæval Westminster. It may also be interpreted as indicating certain points of exceptional difference that mark off mediæval Westminster from more typical cities of its period. For, unlike other regional or national capitals of its time, the business life of the city never came to focus under the consecrating shadow of a cathedral spire, that fit and lasting emblem of the mediæval endeavour to subordinate economic to ethical ends. Nor yet in its later growth did Westminster, like some of its continental compeers, develop that unique pair of temporal and spiritual institutions, the Town Hall and the University; institutions which elsewhere in adequate working correlation each with the other, gave a city not only intensest efficiency, but also afforded noble expression to its dignity, pride and independence. But another civic product of mediæval inventiveness Westminster did have—a great and imposing Bell-House. In beauty of workmanship, richness of adornment and exquisiteness of design, it was in no way comparable to the famous belfries of Flemish cities. But still a remarkable structure, with a peal of bells which enjoyed a European reputation, as we learn from no local chronicler, but from Matthew of Paris and at least one other continental traveller and narrator. Let us pause for a moment to consider the character, use and significance of this belfry, and its rôle in the life of the people. Its history we must also briefly

recount, for the incidents of its origin, maturity, decline and extinction make an instructive commentary on the half millennium which has mainly bequeathed our effective social heritage to-day.

Built simultaneously with the present Abbey-church in mid-thirteenth century, the Westminster Bell-house had definite civic purpose in the well ordered planning of those luminous and large-minded times. Doubtless intended to link the life of the Abbey and the Palace in close intimacy with that of the city, it was appropriately placed at the fourth angle of an irregular quadrilateral, of which the other three corners contained respectively the market-place, the great hall of the palace and the Abbey church. To carry its peal of four, or perhaps five bells (one of them said to be the largest in the world) a tower of cyclopean masonry rose to a height of 60 feet and was surmounted by a lead-covered spire. The base of the tower was 75 feet square, so that its mere magnitude precluded the market-place as its site, even had there been no larger civic purpose determining its erection elsewhere. With its spire the belfry certainly overtopped by a long way the tower of St. Margaret's, and in all probability all other buildings also, for the present western towers of the Abbey church were not then built.<sup>1</sup> It rose above the city, we may well suppose, like a watchful sentinel aspiring to a unity which, if never fully realized, was yet assumed as a social ideal, affirmed in the religious scheme, planned in architectural design, and in a measure achieved in the actual life of the city. In the synoptic vision of the bird's-eye-view, the belfry and its spire would replace the parish church as symbol of mediæval Westminster's emotional life, for St. Margaret's tower was left unfinished till recent times. Thus a variant of our formula of chiefs, people, emotionals and intellectuals emerges as follows:—

PALACE.      MARKET PLACE.      BELFRY.      ABBEY.

To give æsthetic expression to our survey of the mediæval city as a whole and to put an accent on the above fourfold aspect, is the purpose of the imaginative reconstruction which has been drawn for frontispiece.

A lay Guild was charged with the care and due functioning of the belfry. And for many generations—certainly for more than two centuries—did the brethren of the Guild make known through the pealing music of its bells the great happenings of the day. In the mediæval scheme of things the bells of the parish church literally played their part of sustaining the corporate emotion of the citizens. They chimed each birth and marriage, they tolled

1. In his imaginative sketch to show the belfry as it probably was in the thirteenth century, Mr. Lethaby ("Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen," p. 58) makes tower, spire and apical cross rise to a height of nearly 200 feet, which far exceeded the highest point of the Abbey before the addition of Wren's western towers.

each death and funeral, and thus every parishioner shared, in a measure, the joys and the sorrows of all the families of the parish, in ages when the sense of community was stronger and richer than most of us now can even conceive by an effort of the imagination. Similarly were the several parishes knit into the wider community of the city by the more sonorous music that issued from the great belfry, for this enabled every individual of the body civic to participate instantly in the larger issues of life and death. War, fire and pestilence, peace and pageantry, the coming and the passing of successive abbots, the birth and death of princes, royal weddings, coronations, and exalted visitings—all were announced from the belfry. The mysterious power of arousing and communicating emotion which belongs to great bells pealing from lofty towers was deliberately used to large social purposes. Every one, without distinction of sex or age, wealth or status, was united by the music of the bells, for therein they thrilled to common ecstasy or throbbed to a common grief. And moreover, be it remembered that the music of the bells beyond giving a collective relief to agonies in the life cycle, and a collective enhancement to its ecstasies, had also a further civic function. It voiced the message and intensified the visual appeal of that spectacular life which as pageant, play and procession, emanated from church and guild, from cloister and from court, like the spreading odour of an aromatic plant.<sup>1</sup> It may fairly be argued that between that vital pair—City and Citizen—there was achieved a depth and continuity of unison such as can hardly be grasped by their pallid successors

1. "The shops were shut; and the Bishop ordered a great and devout company of priests and friars in a solemn procession accompanied by the nine aldermen and by all the officials of the Commune and all the people; and all the more worthy were ranged in order near the said picture with lighted candles in their hands; and then behind them were the women and children very devout. And they accompanied the said picture as far as the cathedral, making the procession around the close after the usual manner, *ringing all the joy-bells* for devotion to so noble a picture." This is a scene from the mediæval chronicle of an Italian city; but the occasion of it—Duccio's painting, or rather a portion of it—is now in Westminster, as another portion is in Berlin. Both pieces must at one time or another have been stolen from a Siennese altar. In their present habitat they are a standing accusal of metropolitan cities given rather to the gathering of foreign loot than to the glorifying of their own artist-craftsmen. Naturally therefore metropolitan cities of to-day have military processions and other cities have none of any kind. We may further note as surviving evidence, that church bells expressed the very spirit of community, the notion that only those born within the sound of Bow Bells were true Londoners. Bow Church stood opposite the Guildhall in the open centre of the mediæval city's forum. It is now all but closed up with shops; and therefore awaits clearance and renewal for the restoration of spiritual life to the modern "city" of full shops and empty churches.



to-day, the Individual and the State; whose habitual means of intercommunication are the tax-gatherer, with his inquisitorial "schedules," and the journalist, whose metier under existing conditions almost compels him to alternate between the distributing of chill "news" and the industrious daily kindling of the stubble-fires of brief "sensation."

From its origin in the thirteenth century till its catastrophe in the sixteenth, the Belfry of Westminster is in the happy position of having no recorded history. Then its great bell, and even its smaller bells, were taken down and robbed by Henry VIII towards supplies for furnishing a military expedition against his personal rival the French king. The care and functioning of the belfry had before this been removed from its proper Guild, and transferred to St. Stephen's, the private chapel of the palace: sure sign and stigma of the monarch's declining interest in the life of the city and the people. It was doubtless advanced by Henry's legal counsellors as one of the reasons for the subsequent spoliation of the particular Guild, which formerly had charge of the belfry, that its main public function was no longer being performed!

By the time of Elizabeth the citizens had so far progressed in the new dispensation as to have actually forgotten the original use and meaning of the belfry. Even the learned and conscientious Stow records as fact, the contemporary legend that it had been built by Edward III as a belfry for St. Stephen's chapel—a legend which, besides ignoring the original purpose of the belfry, post-dates its erection by no less than a century.

Incidentally this anecdote of sixteenth century ignorance and distortion of thirteenth century life (by scholar and populace alike) is worth noting for another reason. It gives a clue to much contemporary misunderstanding about the Middle Ages. For it is from survivals continuing into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, debased by renaissance misuse and misinterpretation, often aggravated further by eighteenth century myopia, that are derived most of the notions current to-day as to what "mediaevalism" means. A further example of defamatory superstition about the Westminster belfry found in many modern books asserted as historical fact is the legend that its bells were only rung for coronations and funerals of kings. There is probably about as much truth in that as an account of thirteenth century custom, as in another Elizabethan legend that the ringing of the great bell turned all the beer in the cellars sour!

During the seventeenth century the belfry, having already lost its soul, could offer no resistance to any who would despoil its body. It is not surprising therefore that the lead covering of its spire was removed—as likely as not to make bullets for Oliver's soldiers. The spire of wood doubtless soon decayed, but the solid masonry



of the tower which had carried the great bells resisted equally the disintegrative powers of nature and the spoliative passions of humanity.

Even more lasting than the solidest of masonry are the channels of emotion. It was therefore only to be expected that in the eighteenth century the material shell of the old belfry should again revert to its original use of housing the stuff of emotional arousal. It became the cellar of an adjacent tavern. One of the ever recurrent penalties of civic disorganisation is the resulting reversion of emotional life to that primitive habit which seeks the mystic state by an alcoholic short-cut. And this is true alike for chiefs and for people. Promptly, at the outset of the renaissance, the despoiled "people" began to domicile their spiritual life in the taverns that everywhere throughout Western Europe proliferated in the disintegrating cities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While as for the chiefs, they also, after their first flush of æsthetic and intellectualist aspiration had subsided, followed the people to the same spiritual goal. Anecdotes illustrating the attraction with which Westminster taverns appealed to our legislators in the eighteenth century are too well known to need recall. Thus it came about in the fulness of time that a common stream of emotion, literally flowing from the old belfry, again united high and low among the citizens of Westminster.

The power of that stream to sweep aside any obstacle seeking to hinder, divert or diminish its habitual and secular flow has received in our own day a manifestation which will rank among the memorable incidents of the Great War. For it is an open secret that what chiefly stood in the way of the success of King George's call to the nation to forego the social and private use of alcohol in every form while the war lasted—and what rendered in effect nugatory the thoroughgoing and sportsmanlike example which he himself set in the matter—was just the impossibility of reconciling such a self-denying ordinance with a certain Parliamentary tradition and its accretion of sinister influences and perversive interests. "Freedom and Whisky gang thegither," says the Scottish poet, and fitly enough the House of our Liberties enshrines the most illustrious and not the least frequented "private bar" in Christendom. It is not the only instance known to archaeology of a stately edifice being built around a sacred wellhead or source of magical waters. Recalling here the Dionysiac connexion with oratory, and consequently recognizing the symbolic character as well as the historic continuity of the House of Commons bar, we perceive also that there was a kind of religious sanction for the aspiration of the noble legislator who wished rather to see England drunk and free than sober and enslaved.

But to return. The intellectuals also in the eighteenth century

gave restored attention to what remained of the robbed and mutilated structure of the belfry. It became an interesting ruin. It was measured, sketched, described, and theories were propounded as to its origin. Learned men scoffed—the authority of Stow notwithstanding—at the lingering tradition, kept faintly alive by the people, that it had once been a belfry. That it had been a belfry with civic functions would, had the idea been mooted, have seemed still more unrelated to historical fact, and inherently absurd! There was no consensus amongst the scholarly investigators as to its original character. But of three favourite hypotheses one identified the ruin with a fourteenth century church of the Holy Innocents; another, made it a Nonconformist chapel of the seventeenth century, while the third affirmed that it was a kind of fortress built as an asylum for those who fled into the sanctuary of the Abbey! The third hypothesis gained strength with age till, towards the end of the nineteenth century, its momentum of tradition carried away even the well-stored mind and vigorous commonsense of Sir Walter Besant.

During the age of the Industrial Revolution the belfry suffered the same fate as had overtaken the market-place. Mediaeval Westminster, as a city, became all but submerged in the tide of new bricks and old cupidity set aflowing when the "energy" of the machine era applied itself in that quarter of the world. The last remnants of the ancient belfry completely disappeared from sight. What may have been left of local tradition was too feeble—and what is worse, too lowly and of the people—to find expression even in considerable histories of the city. And so, when it came to Besant's time, we find that he does not even mention the market-place and makes an extravagant mistake about the belfry. Nevertheless its foundations of indestructible masonry remained below ground, waiting the opportunity to testify of themselves and the vanished social world to whose higher life they had ministered. The opportunity came and in a fortunate hour. For it was during Mr. Leithaby's architectural wardship of the Abbey that they were exposed in the course of neighbouring building operations. The discovery was viewed by him—most civic and architectonic of his guild—and the significance of the remnants was at once perceived and socially and historically interpreted. Hence to the details of its long and chequered story, accumulated by loving care and punctilious scholarship, there have now been added data for the exact location of the old belfry. The detailed information on hand is even sufficient for its imaginative reconstruction, as of extinct animals by the naturalists. It remains for a coming generation to utilize all this store of recovered and verified knowledge. Not for any archaistic idolatry of mere rebuilding, but for fit and effective renewal, at once material and spiritual, of the usages to which the belfry at its best was put.

The belfry at its best stood for the enrichment and unison of emotional life in the mediæval city. But the spiritual life, to be adequate, must be intellectualized as well as emotionalized. The brain of the citizen must be disciplined and informed, as well as his heart charged and attuned. He must be instructed and educated, and at the same time stimulated and guided towards noble activities. The monasteries more and more failed to do this intellectual work for the community, in the surging times of the later middle age, so that a new type of educational institution was manifestly called for. It appeared as the University. Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries universities grew like mushrooms in the cities of Italy and southern France. The cities of the north were relatively barren in this respect, though the three most famous and efficient of all universities had for their birth-places Paris, Louvain and Oxford.

As to Westminster, the too close intimacy of palace and abbey and the prolonged tutelage of the city to both, have been pointed to in explanation of the fact that the city produced neither Town Hall nor effective guild system, neither cathedral nor university. Even the belfry was a royal gift: and the abbot nominated the chief burgess to office. It is an historical truism to say that the presence of a monarch's court is not conducive to intellectual activity. It is a simple moral inference to affirm that the mitred abbot was a figure of too overpowering prestige to admit the permanent abode of a bishop in his vicinity. All these were real reasons for the arrestment of civic life in Westminster; yet they are local and special. There still remains for discovery the common factors relating the local circumstance with the general movement. Here we must be content to say that the failure of Westminster to produce a university was but sample of a general infertility of northern cities. No doubt the surviving civic tradition of ancient Rome accounted for something of the higher cultural potential of southern cities. But this is too general a factor to be of use as an interpretative clue, bearing in mind what deep foundations had been laid for the permanence of that tradition in every region of Europe and beyond it. What we need is something more definitive and specific.

The universities even more than the cathedrals owed their parentage to the cities. In its beginning, the university was just one among the crop of guilds that attested the exuberant vitality of cities in the later middle age, the high individuation and strong communal sense of the citizens. It was only when success had declared the permanence of the university movement that lawyers discovered that the new institutions needed "constitutions," and popes and kings hastened to "grant" them charters and to plant out colleges of their own making. Where then the guild tradition

was most endemic (as surely it was in southern cities), we should look for the earliest springtide and most exuberant flowering of the university movement. But the whole question is obscure, and awaits further investigation. What we are here concerned with, however, is not the historic origin of universities, but their functional relation to civic life.

Observe therefore how the coming of the university, by completing the social outfit of the city, had a peculiar and definitive spiritual significance. Given Town Hall for its chiefs, Guilds for its people, Cathedral or Belfry for its emotionals, and University for its intellectuals, a city was, in itself, endowed with the full complement of temporal and spiritual institutions. Let us set out the rectified situation in terms of our fundamental formula:—

Town Hall.	Guild.	Cathedral and (or) Belfry	University.
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Here then was a new phase, a veritable re-birth, of the mediæval system, emerging as the older and more characteristic phase was lapsing to decay. The old phase had been more aristocratic and rural, in a word feudal. The new one was more democratic and urban, in a word civic. The former was characterised by a preponderance of castles and abbeys. The latter sought to redress the balance with its guilds, its belfries and its universities. As to the cathedral, that occupied a midway position. It was essentially a civic institution; yet the bishop's diocese was a Regional unit, and so gave wide room for an episcopal reconciliation of feudal and civic interests. But the bishop was handicapped by the aristocratic bias of his "intellectual" ally the abbot. The men and the minds of the cloister (an institution which has many disguises, one of them being the Club) inherently lean that way, and the tendency was too often reinforced by the motives of simony, not only in the convent but in the episcopal see also. All the greater need on the civic side for the creation of universities, if a working adjustment and equipoise was to be made among the conflicting social forces. The early university was the guild of teachers or scholars, and happily sometimes of teachers and scholars. And the academic, like other guilds, when it desired authentication sought it from the local bishop, because he stood nearest to the city as its spiritual overseer and protector of the people. He, if his policy were dictated by diocesan interest, would naturally desire to see established not only a civic but a Regional university—the intellectual counterpart of his cathedral, though not necessarily in the same city.

From whatever cause, the early development of universities does, in point of fact, show observable tendency to focus at regional

centres. What produced the first mushroom crop would seem to have been a fashion that sped through southern cities for each to have its own university; and even (running to extremes, as is the way of fashion) two in the same city. Of that first crop a good many withered as rapidly as they grew, others again were removed from less to more suitable cities. The early or pre-patronage phase of the university movement was thus characterised by a natural sorting and shifting on a basis of regional selection.

Meantime, the contrast of the feudal and the civic order was being widened by the tendency of the chiefs on both sides to break with, and to drift away from, their associated spiritual powers. As the respect of feudal chiefs for the Church declined, their appetite for its property grew. By indirect and devious means there had been an extensive and growing diversion of ecclesiastical wealth to private use, long antecedent to the organised pillage of the Reformation. The consequent increase of luxury was significantly expressed in the popular saying that it took a priory to feed a noble family and an abbey to clothe them. The reaction of the new standards of aristocratic life on ambitious burghers, enriched by the growing profits of foreign trade, would naturally be to seduce them from allegiance to the civic order, and to convert them into plutocratic variants of the feudal chiefs. Increasingly leaderless and forsaken by their proper intellectuals, who tend too much, as we have said, to attach themselves to the chiefs, the people of the cities became the victims of exploitation and parasitism on every side. Handicapped by these temporal and spiritual dead-weights they gradually sunk to that level of depression and impoverishment which finally, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, made them the hungry and facile "hands" of the new and not less ruthless order of chiefs brought to the surface by the Industrial Revolution. But from this telescoping of a half millennium of social history we must return to the later middle age.

The coming of the Friars expressed the final and supreme effort of the old spiritual order to harmonize things all round, and renew the mediæval system for a fresh advance on a higher and more civic level. That stirring upheaval affected Westminster only indirectly. By the immense impetus it gave to Oxford, it confirmed what had apparently been already determined by natural selection—that neither Canterbury nor Rochester, neither London, Westminster nor Reading should provide the Regional University. But the regional university though not, as far as we know its dim beginnings, a civic institution in the sense here taken, yet arose in no secluded spot, but in "one of the first municipalities of England," as J. R. Green tells us. Certainly its early tendencies could not be called aristocratic in the great days when many, perhaps most, of its students slept on straw in garrets, unless they preferred rushes on a kitchen floor.



By changing its concerns and curriculum from a regional and European to a national outlook, and from a democratic to an aristocratic culture, Oxford participated in the general movement of transition from mediæval to modern times; and thereby adapted itself intimately to the changing character of Westminster. With the renaissance, the two cities entered on a correlative development as the spiritual and temporal hemispheres of a single civic unit; or say rather, as twin cities specializing respectively on the theory and the practice of Government, and the congruent views of life. That a highly perfected adjustment between Oxford and Westminster became fixed at the renaissance, and that the co-partnership has continued to work efficiently up to these days, will not be seriously questioned.

This concurrent development of the civic dyad Westminster-Oxford is of course a special case of the larger tempero-spiritual drama, which occupies the background of our canvas, and affords at each successive stage of the survey the needed clue to its interpretation. Let us conclude our mediæval survey by returning to Westminster for a local observation of survival, which is charged with renewal and at the same time is typical of the general background which we have been considering.

In the public garden which embanks the river by the House of Lords there has quite recently been erected, under the very shadow of the Victoria Tower, a statue. It is Rodin's group, "The Burghers of Calais." The oft-told tale is told again, in bronze, by the master-sculptor of the age. All of them emaciated, in rags, haggard, some bent and broken, others proud and erect, the six burghers of Calais stand debating the English king's offer to save the city at the price of their own lives and their dignity—for they were commanded to bring the keys of the city with halters round their own necks. The symbolic intensity of the piece is in its representative character. These assuredly are the true "representatives of the Commons," rather than the frock-coated and silk-hatted gentlemen who occupy cushioned benches a few yards away on the other side of the House of Lords.

Consider the issue of the age-prolonged struggle between the feudal and the civic order. On the one hand, a patriciate continuously recruited and expanded by the incorporation of the new rich of each passing generation, magnificently housed, splendidly furnished, sumptuously fed, beautifully apparelled. On the other, the degradation of cities, deepening from the close of the middle ages till the civic revival in the nineteenth century. Of that revival perhaps the most hopeful element was and is the resumption of the middle-age movement for civic universities. By its arrestment, or diversion to aristocratic purpose and the social uses of the inillustrious rich, the cities of Western Europe in general, and



especially those of England, had for centuries been deprived of their most vital organ of spiritual power. And a peculiar bitterness is added to the wrong when we remember that it was an organ created not only *for* cities but *by* them.

If a dramatic date be wanted for the close of the middle age in its civic phase, it is not difficult to find one similar to that of the sack of Constantinople, which scholars take as the conventional beginning of the Renaissance. About midway in the sixteenth century there occurred an event which academic historians usually dismiss with curt notice. They tell it ostensibly as simple fact, but in reality they convey an insinuated interpretation. The Oxford specialist, who records the life of Charles V in the current issue of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, reserves from eleven columns of biography half a dozen lines for the chronicle of this event. His version is that "Charles in person punished the rebellion of the city of Ghent (1540)." That is how the ruthless and complete destruction, once for all, of the independence of the city of the Van Artevelde presents itself when viewed from the feudal end of the telescope.<sup>1</sup> From the civic end it looks like the final disaster, the symbolic culmination of a long-drawn tragedy. The life of the Middle Ages expired in that catastrophe.

Of innumerable minor tragedies, misinterpreted or unrecorded, in the more far-flung, sporadic drama of civic degradation, the Rodin statue at Westminster stands as survival and symbol. Happily it stands also for renewing associations, both within and without the nation. Almost at the moment of the unveiling of the statue a British army was defending Calais against feudal War Lords who, to the old renaissance game of plundering the Flemish cities, add the new "scientific" refinement of burning their universities. And in the defending army, it is well known, the sons of the English aristocracy are not only bearing their full share of sacrifice and responsibility with a splendour of cheerfulness and absolute devotion, but are also coming to know the qualities and the life of the "people" by an unprecedented intimacy of comradeship. But why should not something of the moral élan and generosity, the goodwill and the good humour of war be maintained and carried forward into the subsequent peace? If that could be brought about, the Burghers of Calais would have come among us to good purpose. Their presence in that unlikely milieu, with the reminders, at once heroic and shameful, which it

1. The completeness of the break in the life of the city is faithfully reflected in the face of its Town Hall, and to this day gives it the appearance of monstrosity. The Gothic and the Palladian portions, built respectively before and after the extinction of civic liberties, the confiscation of civic property, and the judicial massacre of elect citizens, are as though a man's profile were Caucasian on one side and Mongolian on the other.

must ever renew, would become an evocatory appeal for the "sacred union" of chiefs, people, emotionals and intellectuals here at home. And abroad (assuming there as here the needed redemption by internal transformation and civic conversion) of states, of nations and—why not?—of empires. Then indeed would these representatives of the Commons hold their place beside the Temple of Peerage no longer like ghosts of the injured and outraged, come to claim vengeance for the past, but as the bringers of a supreme gratitude and as the heralds of a call to the enlarging ideals of community, which would quench the sense of all ancient wrongs and light a new star in the heavens for their nation and ours to steer by—in sympathetic courses friends for ever!



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